

He Ahu Mo'olelo: E Ho'okahua i ka Paepae Mo'olelo Palapala Hawai'i

A Cairn of Stories: Establishing a Foundation of Hawaiian Literature

ku'ualoha ho'omanawanui

‘ŌLELO HŌ‘ULU‘ULU / SUMMARY

“What is mo'olelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian literature)?”¹ This essay seeks to answer this and related questions. It articulates a foundation of mo'olelo Hawai'i in the twenty-first century as constructed from a long, rich history of oral tradition, performance, and writing, in 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language), 'ōlelo Pelekānia (English), and 'ōlelo pa'i'ai (Hawai'i Creole English, HCE, or “pidgin”). This essay maps the mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) of mo'olelo Hawai'i in its current form as a contemporized (post-eighteenth century) cultural practice resulting from the longer-standing tradition of haku (composing, including strictly oral compositions) and kākau (imprinting, writing). Beginning in the 1830s, kākau and pa'i (printing) were composed from 'ike Hawai'i (Hawaiian knowledge) passed down mai ka pō mai (from the ancient past), reflecting innovations in the recording and transmission of 'ike Hawai'i, including mo'olelo (narratives, stories, histories).

‘ŌLELO MUA / INTRODUCTION

When I entered the PhD program in English at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 1997, a professor stopped me in the hall one day. “What is there to possibly study in Hawaiian literature? Is that even a ‘thing’?” she inquired. While incensed by such ignorance, I politely smiled and replied, “Why, the same thing you do with English literature—periods, genres, and authors.” She seemed satisfied with my response, but also befuddled. While annoyed by the question, I wasn't surprised. Mo'olelo Hawai'i is not new—Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians)² have been writing and publishing now for close to two hundred years. Yet perhaps the subject remains somewhat invisible because its foundation is in 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian language), the native language of Hawai'i, which was restricted and oppressed for decades and nearly extinguished by the hegemony of English. Outside of specific environments, “Hawaiian literature” as an academic discipline and cultural practice has been rather obscured, suppressed alongside the language it was created from, the result of multiple layers of haole (Amer-European)³ colonialism and the accompanying insistence of cultural and linguistic

hegemony. Moreover, it is not simple to define. Thus, one of the first questions to consider in studying it is “What is mo‘olelo Hawai‘i?”

The answer often varies as well because of the multiple ways “Hawaiian” is defined and understood. Why is it important to understand mo‘olelo Hawai‘i as a cultural production, to historicize and trace its roots? As with other world literatures, it helps us understand the past as it influences the present, and to better see how it interprets and reflects human experience within a cultural context and across time. Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i is a foundational part of Kanaka Maoli culture. Therefore, it is an important humanities discipline that helps others to develop understanding and comparative frameworks about who we are. More importantly, it allows us to understand ourselves and our kūpuna (ancestors), and relate to others, to navigate more confidently towards our future, as one day we too will be ancestors setting a path for future generations to understand us and the generations before us.

This essay seeks to answer these and related questions. It articulates a foundation of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i in the twenty-first century as one constructed from a long, rich history of oral tradition, performance, and writing, in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘ōlelo Pelekānia, and ‘ōlelo pa‘i‘ai. This essay maps the mo‘okū‘auhau of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i in its current form as a contemporized (post-eighteenth century) cultural practice resulting from the longer-standing cultural practices of haku and kākau in a manner similar to the development of hula ku‘i⁴ during this same period: drawing from the kahiko (ancient, traditional) period, reflecting the culture, practices, and environment of its time, laying a foundation for the modern era (in the case of hula, hula ‘auana, or modern hula). Beginning in the 1830s, kākau and pa‘i drew from and incorporated ‘ike Hawai‘i passed down mai ka pō mai while also reflecting innovations in the recording and transmission of ‘ike Hawai‘i, including mo‘olelo. Thus the implementation of palapala (writing, literacy) expanded older practices of orature such as ha‘i mo‘olelo (storytelling) and ho‘opāpā (contests of wit and intellectual knowledge), transforming Kanaka Maoli intellectual production and means of preservation across time and space in ways previously unavailable.⁵

I provide a historical and cultural overview of terms, and include a summary of historical, cultural, and other influences that have contributed to the depth and breadth of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, which I hope will inspire and encourage current and future generations of Kānaka Maoli and others to study, appreciate, and enjoy. It is always difficult and sometimes perilous to offer concrete definitions of terms or concepts that inevitably change over time; the overview of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i described in this essay is one perspective of a larger, complex, vibrant, and ongoing discussion. As the oft-quoted ‘ōlelo no‘eau (proverb) reminds us, “‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi” (Not all knowledge is contained in one school) (Pukui 1983:24; my translation).

While Hawaiian literary production in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i flourished by the end of the nineteenth century, it is not as widely known or practiced today because of settler colonial interventions: the loss of Hawaiian sovereignty (and thus control of Hawai‘i’s educational system⁶) in 1893, the subsequent 1896 law that effectively replaced ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i with English as the medium of instruction across the school system (public and private), the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i to the U.S. in 1898, and the resulting settler occupation. All these events contributed to the demise of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a daily language for Kānaka Maoli at home, in government, in commerce, in education, and in

the arts, as our lands, culture, and practices became subsumed into mainstream English-language-dominated American culture.

Yet still Kanaka Maoli intellectuals—writers, readers, educators, and others—persisted, resulting in a continuing literary mo‘okū‘auhau. As successive generations of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i have been reborn into our consciousness and continue to appear, the metaphor of an ahu (cairn), as mentioned in the title and as described later in this essay, is one of several appropriate to describe its ongoing production.

E KŪKULU ANA I KA MO‘OLELO (PALAPALA) HAWAI‘I / CONSTRUCTING HAWAIIAN LITERATURE

To grasp a basic understanding of Hawaiian literature, a discussion of relevant vocabulary, beginning with Hawaiian and literature is necessary, as both are understood in multiple ways within, around, and outside of the production of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i. For some, *Hawaiian* is nothing more than a geographic marker referencing anything of, from, or belonging to the archipelago of islands called Hawai‘i. For others, *Hawaiian* signifies a specific ethnic group, the indigenous or “first nation” people of Hawai‘i, known in our own language as Kānaka Maoli. *Kānaka* is synonymous to related indigenous Polynesian words for “human” or “people,” such as *tāngata* (in Māori) or *tā‘ata* (in Tahitian). Likewise, Maoli means “indigenous, native, true, real” and is synonymous with Māori (in Māori) and Mā‘ohi (in Tahitian). For many indigenous peoples, their names for themselves equate to their names for their lands, hence Kānaka Hawai‘i, the “Hawai‘i (Hawaiian) people.”

As a marker of ethnic identity, *native Hawaiian* is a federally defined legal term referring to all persons who are descended from the aboriginal people who were in the Hawaiian Islands as of 1778, when Captain James Cook, a British explorer, stumbled upon the islands in 1778.⁷ Because of differences between its popular use and legally-binding parameters, *Native Hawaiian* is a somewhat confusing term that is also legally divisive. However, for Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, Native Hawaiian indicates genealogical (ethnic) identity that does not consider blood quantum and as a descriptor for cultural practices. *Hawaiian* is sometimes a shortening of Native Hawaiian, although *part-Hawaiian* is a federally defined legal term that refers to ethnic Hawaiians with less than fifty percent Hawaiian blood quantum.

For others, Hawaiian designates a culture dependent upon both environmental influences (geography included) and the people (ethnic group). *Culture* reflects “the distinctive ideas, customs, social behavior, products, or way of life of a particular nation, society, people, or period; a society or group characterized by such customs, etc.” (OED Online, s.v. “culture, n.”). Thus, culture includes language and arts, such as oratory, literature, and other poetic and creative works. The worldview, philosophy, ethos, morality, and values are developed within and permeate throughout culture and its products, such as language and arts. Surprisingly, no English dictionary defines Hawaiian culture, although Hawaiian language is recognized (*ibid.*).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines literature in part as “printed matter of any kind; written work valued for superior or lasting artistic merit; written work considered collectively; a body of literary work produced in a particular country or region, or of a particular genre; the realm of letters or books; literary culture, learning; a branch of

study” (OED Online, s.v. “literature, n.”). The word *literature* is derived from the Latin *litterātūra*, the “use of letters, writing system of letters, alphabet, instruction in reading, writings, scholarship” (ibid.). The English term is thought to derive from the French *littérature*, “knowledge acquired from reading or studying books” (ibid.); derivatives of the term with similar meanings are found in other European languages as well. What all the definitions share in common is a reference to writing, and, in extension, reading and an appreciation (or desire to cultivate an appreciation) for writing as an art, a product of culture, an activity that is exclusively human.

Taking these broad definitions into account, it would seem that Hawaiian literature refers to writing produced (or set in) Hawai‘i as a geographic location, and/or written by (or feature characters who are) Kānaka Maoli, and/or reflect certain themes, devices, styles, language, worldviews, and so forth, that are culturally based or derived. While these definitions may be technically accurate based on the above definitions, they are contested terms and definitions not universally accepted by or satisfactory to Hawaiian literature scholars for different reasons.

I argue that in some ways these definitions are too broad, and in other ways too limiting. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi writers and scholars are not the first indigenous peoples to address the challenge of defining the parameters of our literature. In his landmark work *Decolonising the Mind* (1986), Kenyan writer Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o (Kikuyu) discusses a debate by African writers attending a conference surrounding the deceptively simple question, what is African literature?

Was it literature about Africa or about the African experience? Was it literature written by Africans? What about a non-African who wrote about Africa: did his work qualify as African literature? What if an African set his work in Greenland: did that qualify as African literature? Or were African languages the criteria? OK: what about Arabic, was it not foreign to Africa? What about French and English, which had become African languages? What if an European wrote about Europe in an African language? If . . . if . . . if . . . [However,] the question was never seriously asked: did what we wrote qualify as African literature? The whole area of literature and audience, and hence of language as a determinant of both the national and class audience did not really figure: the debate was more about the subject matter and the racial origins and geographical habitation of the writer. (Wa Thiong’o 1986:6)

Wa Thiong’o’s work inspired my examination of the question in a Hawaiian context: What is Hawaiian literature? Is it anything written about Hawai‘i? Is it anything Hawaiians write? Is it literature only written in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i? Is it something else? How do we address these questions with ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i terms such as *mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, for example, and do the terms *Hawaiian literature* and *mo‘olelo Hawai‘i* describe the same thing? While Hawaiian literary production has been ongoing for over a century, only a handful of articles have addressed issues of Hawaiian poetics, and a lengthy discussion of what *mo‘olelo Hawai‘i* is, is not, could, or should be has never been published at length.

In his work, wa Thiong’o advocates for African literatures that are written in the native languages of Africa because of the intimate and integral relationship between language and culture. On one hand, language is a product of culture, and on the other hand, language is a primary vehicle for expressing culture. In “Native Hawaiian Cul-

ture,” Hawaiian-language professor Larry Kauanoe Kimura (1985:173) notes that language plays a critical part in “identifying a people [because it] demonstrates a uniqueness of a people, carrying with it centuries of shared experience, literature, history, traditions” that are “reinforce[d] . . . through daily use.”

Beginning in the 1960s, civil rights, women’s rights, and native rights movements were at the forefront of national politics in the United States. Advocacy for social justice at the national level inspired similar engagement in Hawai‘i. For Kānaka Maoli, calls for cultural regeneration grew alongside social and political activism in a period often referred to as the “Hawaiian Renaissance.”⁸ One key aspect of cultural regeneration was the call to reinstate ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as a living language, and to do so, a Hawaiian-language immersion educational system would need to be established. Hawaiian-language immersion education would be a cornerstone of cultural revitalization, as myriad research demonstrates the inseparability of language from culture, as languages carry the cultures they come from.⁹

Kimura was part of a core group of Hawaiian-language practitioners and advocates who founded the Hawaiian immersion education system, beginning with Pūnana Leo (lit., “language nest”) preschools. Here, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, not English, was the medium of instruction. Pūnana Leo began with one school in 1984. Despite immense opposition by the State of Hawai‘i’s Department of Education (DOE), parents, teachers, and supporters of Pūnana Leo haumāna (students) were successful in establishing a Hawaiian immersion kindergarten class. As more Pūnana Leo began to open across the Hawaiian Islands and the first students began to grow, demand for higher grade levels of Hawaiian-language immersion classes continued. Eventually, Hawaiian-language immersion advocates were successful, despite DOE opposition, in implementing the Kula Kaia-puni Hawai‘i Hawaiian-language immersion education program in grades K–12. After decades of very hard work, Hawaiian-language immersion educational programs exist for students from pre-K through high school and into college level courses.¹⁰

While efforts to encourage and support the use of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i after Hawai‘i’s illegal annexation to the U.S. never stopped, by the 1960s, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i had reached the brink of extinction, with only a few dozen estimated fluent speakers left.¹¹ But through the efforts of Kimura and others, and the reimplementation of formal instruction in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, the language has continued to make a steady comeback as a living language.¹² By the 1980s, the seeds of various social justice movements planted and tended to in the 1960s–‘70s, such as regrowing ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, began to blossom. Such efforts also demonstrate the intimate connection between language and politics, since the suppression of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i by haole in the nineteenth century was meant to force Kānaka Maoli into assimilating into mainstream American society and adopting their values; the Hawaiian cultural renaissance that continues would not have been possible without strong participation in political and governmental processes to reestablish and regrow ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. In extension, Kanaka Maoli literature has enjoyed its own rebirth, benefiting from the interconnection of culture and politics. Questions of who has kuleana (rights and responsibilities) to tell a “Hawaiian” story, who has access to publishing, marketing, and distribution, what kinds of narratives and themes reflect Kanaka Maoli worldviews and perspectives, and so forth, have always been contested since writing and publishing were first introduced. With the advent of new media that can reach global audiences, from books (Kauai Hart Hemmings’s *The Descendants*)

to music (Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole’s rendition of “Somewhere Over the Rainbow”) to television (*Hawaii 5-0*) to movies (Disney’s *Lilo and Stitch*), perhaps the stakes of representation and misappropriation of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i has never been higher.

However, both African and Hawaiian movements advocating indigenous language use did not go without challenge or criticism, even from within the indigenous communities they were meant to benefit. In the context of literature, for some writers, the colonial language (English in Hawai‘i; English and French in Africa) was and continues to be a unifying medium to reach a broader audience, presenting a particularly hard choice to writers: does one write in the indigenous language for a relatively small readership, or in the colonial language for a potentially much larger (local, national, global) audience? By the mid-twentieth century, English, the colonial language, became the default language for Kānaka Maoli in Hawai‘i, in part because of an 1896 law the Republic of Hawai‘i (run by those responsible for orchestrating the overthrow of the Hawaiian government) enacted requiring English as the medium of instruction for all schools, which affected the transmission of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Lucas 2000:8).

Along with English language came English-language literature, primarily British and American. In other parts of Oceania, such as Aotearoa (New Zealand), Fiji, Solomon Islands, and Guam, for example, English was also becoming the default colonial language of everyday life and in education. Elsewhere, such as French Polynesia (Society Islands, Gambier Islands, Marquesas), New Caledonia, and the islands of Wallis and Futuna, French became the default colonial language. Overall, the majority of Pacific literature, written by indigenous Moana Nui (Pacific, Oceania) writers, are composed in the colonial languages, with a relatively small number of publications produced in indigenous Pacific languages. Thus, while similarities between some indigenous Polynesian languages are close enough for a degree of mutual understanding between them, literature across the Pacific is firmly divided between colonially imposed languages, specifically English (Anglophone) and French (Francophone). A handful of authors write in at least one indigenous Pacific language, and one colonial language (such as Patricia Grace, who writes in Māori and English, and Chantal Spitz, who writes in Tahitian and French).¹³

Writing after the same conference wa Thiong’o describes, Nigerian author Chinua Achebe (1996:384) defended his use of English, writing, “Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else’s? It looks like a dreadful betrayed and produces a guilty feeling. But for me there is no other choice. I have been given the [English] language and I intend to use it.” Achebe’s sentiments have been echoed by other writers, including Kānaka Maoli such as Hawaiian nationalist, scholar, and poet Haunani-Kay Trask. While some may have made this argument because of their own inadequacy in their heritage languages—or at least that is a claim sometimes made against them—most see the dominant colonial languages as a way of reaching a wider, more global audience inclusive of their home communities and cultures, but not limited to them.

While ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is a marker of mo‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, it is not the only one. Another issue not addressed by wa Thiong’o or Kimura but brought up in subsequent discussions on language, at least in Hawai‘i, is that if language is an identifying mark of culture, then anyone, ethnically Hawaiian or not, could use ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i fluency to claim a cultural and, in extension, ethnic identity of Hawaiian. In other words, by practicing aspects of Hawaiian culture, one somehow acquires a Hawaiian identity. It is regret-

table that such linguistic discrimination is used against some Kānaka ‘Ōiwi who do not speak or are not fluent in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, sometimes by non-Hawaiians, and sometimes by other ‘Ōiwi. Language fluency is also used by some non-Hawaiians to self-identify as Hawaiian, or have such status conferred upon them by Kānaka Maoli.

For these reasons, I reject indigenous-language fluency and writing in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i as sole markers to define mo‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Moreover, not everything written in Hawaiian over the course of the nineteenth century reflected Hawaiian cultural protocols, values, or worldviews, or was written by Kānaka Maoli, a point worthy of consideration in a future essay.

Issues of language, history, culture, and politics have shaped discussions of mo‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in its own environment and context, as African literature has formed in its own context that wa Thiong’o and Achebe participated in and wrote about. The specific context of these issues in Hawai‘i predicate my own definition of Hawaiian literature.

In a 2005 article on contemporary Hawaiian poetry, I define it as “the poetry produced by Kānaka Maoli . . . the indigenous inhabitants genealogically connected to the archipelago known to the world as Hawai‘i. It is not regional in nature, that is, it is not simply the product of anyone who claims Hawai‘i as home. Nor is it thematic; it is not just any poem about Hawai‘i” (29). This definition extends to all genres of literature, not just poetry. I expand it to include literature that exhibits other key elements of culture aside from and in addition to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, such as worldview, ethics, and values, including aesthetic, poetic, and/or rhetorical elements and devices, which are not necessarily confined to within ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i alone, although ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i is certainly the most appropriate language of such expression.

While this is the working definition from which the rest of this essay unfolds, it is not without its own limitations and criticism. These can and should be addressed by other scholars of mo‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in the interest of problematizing the issue and thus further demonstrating its richness, complexity, and value for its own sake, as well as its contribution to other indigenous and world literatures.

E HO‘ONOHONA I KA MO‘OLELO (PALAPALA) HAWAI‘I / LOCATING HAWAIIAN LITERATURE

As I map out in this essay, Hawaiian literature is a general, English-language term referencing writing by Kānaka Maoli, the indigenous people of Hawai‘i. In this regard, Hawaiian is not simply a term marking geographic location; that is, “of the Hawaiian Islands,” but is inclusive of, if not dependent on, an ethnic marker determined through cultural means—mo‘okū‘auhau. Hawaiian voyaging traditions tell us that Kanaka Maoli genealogies connect us to other indigenous peoples across Moana Nui. Such connections are eloquently described by Tongan scholar and writer Epeli Hau‘ofa as “our sea of islands” (1994:147). In other words, the vast space of Moana Nui is conducive to travel and making connections, not prohibitive, as expressed through the western notion of “islands in a far flung sea” (ibid.). That perspective sees the ocean as a barrier between islands, peoples, and cultures, which directly contradicts the indigenous Moana Nui perspective.

The most immediate relations (in time and space) for Kānaka Maoli are with Tahiti (Kahiki; foreign lands; also, the ancient homeland of Kanaka Maoli ancestors) and

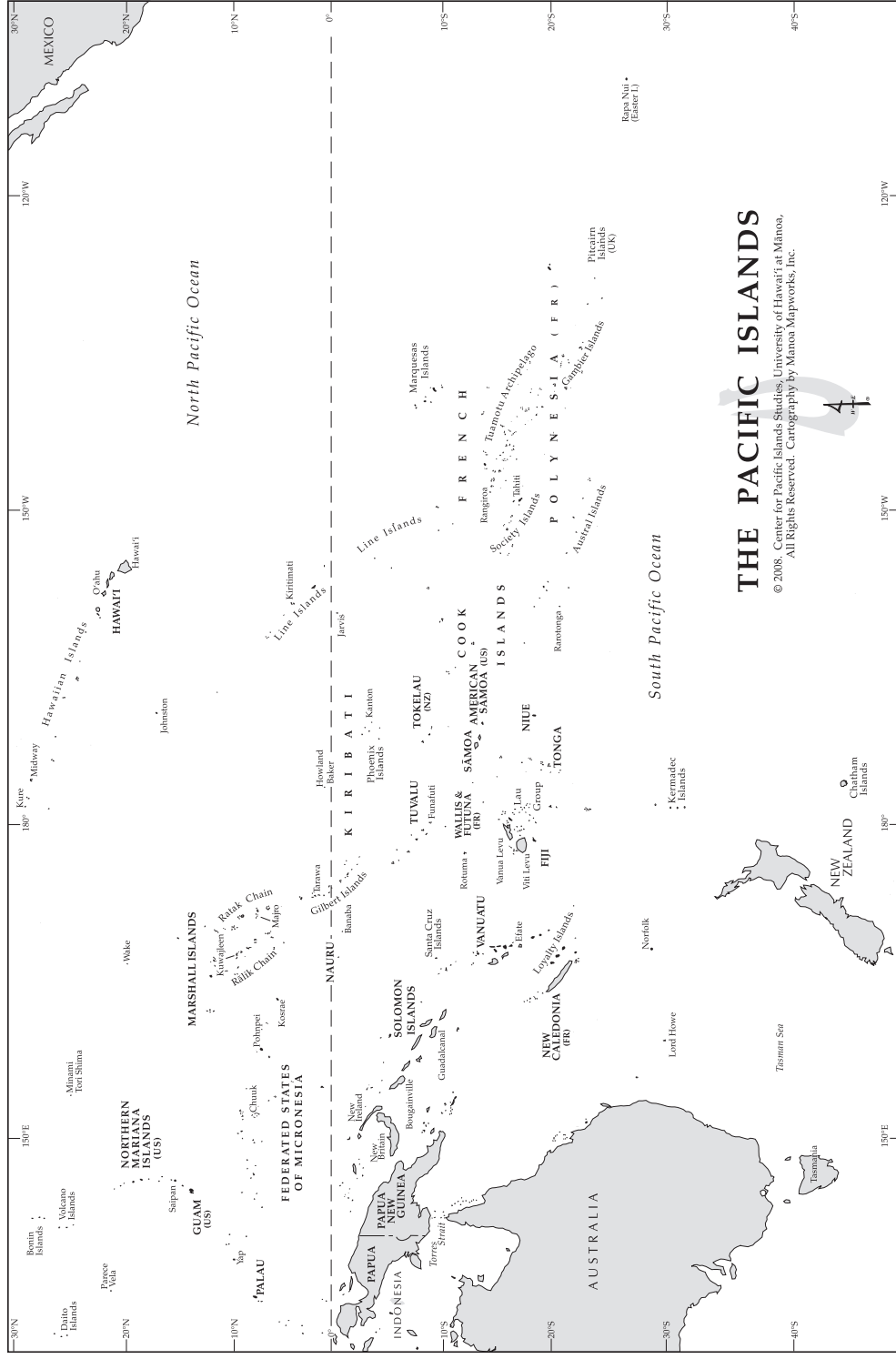
nearby areas. But our mo'olelo also describe voyages between other islands, including Sāmoa, Aotearoa, and lands without known modern equivalents on western maps (Kuaihelani, Nu'umealani), which were home to akua (deities), and possibly refer to the surrounding continents of North or South America, Asia, or even Australia.¹⁴

Mo'olelo Hawai'i has its own genealogy, a mo'o mo'olelo that connects to the stories and traditions found in other parts of Moana Nui. For example, mo'olelo of the four main male gods of the 'Aikapu (traditional religious system; lit., "sacred, restricted eating"), Kāne, Kū, Lono, and Kanaloa, are found elsewhere in Polynesia as Tāne, Tū, Rono (Rongo, Oro'o), and Tangaroa (Ta'aroa). Exploits of the demigod Māui are prevalent across Polynesia as well. In this way, mo'olelo Hawai'i is not just geographically located in Hawai'i; it has genealogical roots to the wider oceanic space and cultures of Moana Nui.

In the essay "He Lei Ho'ohenoheno no nā Kau a Kau" (2005), I discuss the different ways 'Ōiwi scholars have categorized the development of Hawaiian verbal arts, orature, and literature, beginning with Rubellite Kawena Johnson's delineation of periods and categories, Leialoha Apo Perkins's contextualization of mo'olelo Hawai'i as "a Pacific-linked and Pacific-informed subset of American literature," and Monica Ka'imipono Kaiwi's identification of "different 'generations' of Hawaiian literature" (ho'omanawanui 2005:30).

I note that in their work, each of these scholars acknowledges "a Hawaiian language-based orature prior to western contact as the foundation on which the post-contact literary traditions were formed, from the 1820s onward, once writing was established. Initially, oral and written works were composed in ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i . . . , but these were mostly supplanted by English-language compositions by the mid-twentieth century" (ho'omanawanui 2005:30). Collectively, the work of each of these scholars contributes to my own theories of mo'olelo Hawai'i and its formation as:

1. Being complex enough to necessitate divisions and classifications based on time period, genre, subject, theme, language, and authorship.
2. Sharing human genealogies and culturally based genealogical connections to Moana Nui, including genre, subject, theme, language, perspective, and devices (oral, written, and rhetorical). In addition, the practice of writing was formally introduced to Hawai'i by Americans, and western literary production has thus influenced Hawaiian literature from the time it was first written down.
3. Because mo'olelo Hawai'i is "generational," it has a mo'okū'auhau. What distinguishes this classification from Johnson's is that it is culturally derived—Kaiwi's classification is formulated from Manu Meyer's work on Hawaiian epistemology and is consciously aware of indigenous-rooted theory and methodology. Therefore, mo'okū'auhau is a more culturally appropriate way of formulating categories of mo'olelo Hawai'i.
4. By its very nature, literature—who produces it, what environment it is produced in, and what language(s) it is produced in (which also indicates an audience)—is political, and the political nature of mo'olelo Hawai'i, regardless of the topic being written about, is innate.



Map of Moana Nui. Kanaka Maoli are genealogically connected to other indigenous peoples in Oceania, sharing many elements of culture, including language and arts.

While these scholars' thinking about mo'olelo Hawai'i influences my own, there are some differences. Johnson, for example, includes non-'Ōiwi writing as Hawaiian. While Apo Perkins defines Hawaiian literature as a subset of U.S. (American) literature because of Hawai'i's political connection to the U.S. post-overthrow (1893), I recognize that the U.S. forced this political connection upon Hawai'i against longstanding Kanaka Maoli efforts to ho'oulu lāhui (increase, perpetuate, preserve the Hawaiian nation socially, culturally, and politically).¹⁵ Moreover, most 'Ōiwi writers of previous generations followed a culturally rooted process in their haku and kākau, and few Kanaka Maoli writers, if any, describe themselves as American writers or see their work as American literature. While some of us do acknowledge our place within the larger discipline and production of Oceanic literature, Kanaka Maoli writers primarily see ourselves as the foundation of the literary production of Hawai'i. For some, this includes what is often referred to as "local" literature or "literatures of Hawai'i" as a more appropriate term than *Hawaiian* literature, as it is inclusive of Hawai'i-based writers of all ethnic and cultural backgrounds in addition to Kanaka 'Ōiwi.¹⁶

Mo'olelo is a general term for a narrative of any kind. It is derived from mo'o 'ōlelo, meaning a "succession of talk," as all stories were originally oral. Today we call this continuing tradition "talk story." In regards to literature, mo'olelo encompasses all genres of oral tradition (ha'i waha) and writing (palapala). Adding to my definition of mo'olelo Hawai'i, I assert that it is always political, and I discuss why later in this essay. First, I lay out additional Hawaiian terms, both traditional (in use for a long time) and modern (implemented in the past several decades).

Mo'okalaleo is a modern term describing literature in general. Related modern terms that describe oral traditions from the classical¹⁷ period of Hawaiian history are *mo'olelo ha'i waha* (lit., "traditional stories told from the mouth") and *mo'olelo ku'una* (traditional narratives). In western disciplines such as folklore studies, this is called oral tradition, oral literature, or orature, which describe stories passed from one generation to the next via verbal exchange, without the aid of writing. General categories of oral tradition which predate written literature include folklore, mythology, and even history. In Hawaiian culture, *mo'olelo ku'una ha'i waha* (traditional narratives verbally told) are often coupled with performance or performative aspects of transmission such as oli (chant), mele (song), hula (dance), or hana keaka (dramatic performance).¹⁸

In previous scholarship I refer to this category of mo'olelo ku'una as *mai ka pō mai* and *mai nā kūpuna mai* (from the ancestors) to refer to such classical (orally derived and performance-based) narratives. I also use the terms *mai Kahiki mai* (from the ancient homeland, sometimes referencing Tahiti) and *mai ka waha mai* (lit., "from the mouth"), a direct reference to their oral nature (ho'omanawanui 2014b:xxxii). Practical knowledge related to daily life, such as planting crops, fishing, seafaring, healing arts, and so forth, were important to remember and pass on. It took particular kinds of logic, poetics, and skills of organization within a solely oral environment devoid of writing to remember, catalogue, and transfer 'ike (knowledge) successfully from person to person across the community, and across generations and time periods.

Mo'olelo ku'una is a modern term that includes specific genres of classical and traditional stories, such as legends, or narratives and epics based on real people or ancestors, and includes feats of ali'i (chiefs), kupua (demigod, culture hero, often with shapeshift-

ing abilities), or akua, which are traced through their genealogies. Some akua, like Pele, are considered ancestors who were later deified; it is theorized that ali‘i whose superior abilities in life or the mystery which surrounded them on earth led to their deification after their death or disappearance.

The modern term *mo‘okalaleo palapala* is synonymous with written literature, although it most often refers to classical and traditional stories that were written, particularly those written down for the first time in the nineteenth (and early twentieth) century, primarily in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

In their myriad configurations, mo‘olelo demonstrate important values of Hawaiian life, ethics, worldviews, aesthetics, and poetics, that is, what Kānaka Maoli thought were the most important aspects of their culture, history, and themselves to remember and to pass on. Contemporary Kanaka Maoli writers continue to reflect and consciously incorporate these values within their own writing.

NĀ MĀHELE O NĀ MO‘OLELO (PALAPALA) HAWAI‘I / GENRES OF HAWAIIAN LITERATURE

Because *mo‘olelo* is such a broad term encompassing everything from oral stories to history and all genres of writing, scholars of Hawaiian language and literature have long worked to identify more specific genres of orature and literature. In 1966, linguist Samuel H. Elbert compiled a list of what he called “Hawaiian and Euro-American verbal arts.” While he included three categories: prose, poetry, and adornment, strangely, he omitted oratory. Some of what Elbert categorized as genres of poetry, such as oli, are now considered performance styles of poetry, and not categories of poetry itself, which can be confusing. For example, the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, which Elbert co-authored, defines oli as “chant that was not danced to” (<http://wehewehe.org>). More recently, ethnomusicologist Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman, however, defines oli as “the indigenous Hawaiian performance system of chanting. More specifically, it is the vocal performance of mele that is not accompanied by hula” (2009).

In the following pages, I offer an expanded inventory of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi genres related to mo‘olelo Hawai‘i. As Hawaiian language and literature continues to grow and change along with the people, such a collection of genres and terms will continue to evolve and expand. I have added an additional category, *kākā‘ōlelo* (oratory), which also acknowledges recent scholarship on Hawaiian oratory by Hawaiian-language scholar Hiapo Perreira.¹⁹

Terms that are bolded are included in Elbert’s original compilation; all others are my additions; those presented in parentheses are not genres typically found in haole literary or verbal arts. While I have tried to be as inclusive as possible in identifying written genres, new ones appear all the time, and I anticipate these categories will require periodic updates. Elbert made further distinctions between “authored” and “non-authored” categories, meaning those in which an individual could be identified as a source, and those held by the people (“folk”) and beyond association with a single (identifiable) person. While there are hundreds, if not thousands of Hawaiian writings that have individual authors’ or composers’ names attached, there are myriad examples of multiple-named authors, composers, pseudonyms, and unnamed contributors of published writing as well.

Since the heavily revised version is more inclusive and detailed, I have also separated each category into individual tables for easier reference. I begin with oratory, the foundation of human communication.

Table 1. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: kākā‘ōlelo (oratory)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
ha‘i kupuna	(chanted genealogy)	
ha‘i mo‘olelo	storytelling	
ha‘i‘ōlelo	speech	KĀKĀ‘ŌLELO / ORATORY
ho‘opāpā	contest of wits, debate, argument, banter	
kākā‘ōlelo	oratory, storytelling	
kū‘auhau	genealogy recitation	

Mele, or poetry, is one of the oldest art forms and is present in all cultures in the form of songs, chants, and prayers. Comparative categories of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole poetry genres are presented below. The table below presents genres of mele not accompanied by hula.

Table 2. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: mele (poetry) ōli (not danced to)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
<i>Not danced to:</i>		
hīmeni, mele hīmeni	hymn; religious song	
mele hai pule		
kake	(chant style with garbled, coded, or secret words, for and by the ali‘i; also a hula)	
kū‘auhau ²⁰	(genealogy)	
ko‘ihonua, mele ko‘ihonua	(cosmogonic genealogy)	
kepakepa ²¹	(rhythmic, conversational recitation)	
mele	song, anthem, chant, poem, ballad, lyric	MELE / POETRY I
mele hā‘awi	chants given as gifts	
mele hō‘ole lama	temperance song; song refusing alcohol	
mele hō‘ole wai ‘ona		
mele kinai lama		
mele kinai ‘ona		
mele ho‘oki‘eki‘e	boasting chants	

Continued on next page

Table 2. *Continued*

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE
<i>Not danced to:</i>	
ho‘ouēuē ²² , mele ho‘ouēuē	dirge, lament, elegy
kanikau, mele kanikau ²³	
kūmākena, mele kūmākena	
mele kūō	
makena, ²⁴ mele makena	
mele hei	song accompanying the game of hei (cat’s cradle)
mele hiamoe	chant to go to sleep
mele ho‘āeae ²⁵	love song
mele ho‘āla	awakening chant
mele ho‘ohiamoe keiki	lullaby
mele ho‘onānā keiki	song to soothe children
mele kāhea	chant asking permission to enter
mele kālai‘āina	political songs
mele kilokilo	chants foretelling future events
mele komo	welcoming chant or song
mele kuahu	chant offered before a hula altar
mele kūamuamu	reviling chant
mele mahalo	song or chant expressing appreciation
mele nemanema	criticizing chants
mele noi	chant asking for a favor
mele wānana	prophetic chants
oli ²⁶	chant (not danced to)
paha ²⁷	improvised chant
pāleoleo, mele pāleoleo	rap, hip-hop lyric
pule, mele pule	prayer

Elbert distinguished between mele that were not danced to and mele that could be or were danced to. He did not mean dance of any form, rather, hula, the traditional, native, cultural dance of Hawai‘i. There are many, many styles of hula, broadly separated into hula kahiko (ancient styles of hula developed in the classical period, some of which are still performed) and hula ‘auana (modern hula). Hula ku‘i (hula style developed across the nineteenth century based on ancient hula style with modern elements such as clothing; a joining, or ku‘i of old and new). Genre of mele that are danced, listed below, are not separated into dance styles (kahiko, ‘auana, ku‘i), which encompass even more specific styles of dance, such as hula noho (sitting hula), or hula kālā‘au (hula danced with stick implements), amongst a number of others. Genres of mele that are and are not danced to do overlap.

Table 3. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: mele hula (poetry that can be danced to)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE
<i>Can be danced to:</i>	
hula, mele hula	name of a text that can be danced to, as well as the dance itself; hula song
hula kake	(chant style with garbled, coded, or secret words, for and by the ali‘i)
mele ‘aimoku	dynastic chants
mele ‘āina	song praising a land
mele ali‘i	(song praising chief[s])
mele aloha	chant of affection, love song
mele aloha ‘āina	patriotic song, song of loyalty
mele ‘au‘a ²⁸	chant refusing a request
mele hapa haole	song with part Hawaiian, part English lyrics
mele hi‘ilani	praising favorite children
mele ho‘ālohaloha	love song, serenade
mele ho‘oipoipo	
mele ho‘ohenehene ²⁹	teasing song
mele inoa	name song
mele ka‘i	chant or song of dancers arriving before an audience
mele ka‘i ho‘i	chant or song of dancers departing from performing before an audience
mele ka‘i kaua	war song, battle song
mele kaua	
mele kupuna	(ancestral chants)
mele lāhui ³⁰	national chants, songs
mele ma‘i	(genital songs)
mele mililani	praise song, song of exaltation
mele pana	place-honoring song
mele pono‘ī	personal chants [for Kalākaua] ³¹

MELE /
POETRY II

As Kamakau writes, “a he nui loa ke ano o na mele” (there are a great many genres of mele) (*Ka Nupēpa Kuokoa*, December 21, 1867). There are additional genres that can be added to this list, which is not exhaustive.

Adornment is a variety of poetic or metaphoric references that are often short but meaningful aspects of verbal and literary arts. These include sayings and names.

Table 4. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: ‘ōlelo wehi (adornment)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
mākia	motto	
inoa ³²	name	
inoa hō‘ailona ³³	name from a sign; symbolic name	
inoa ho‘omana‘o	commemorative name	
inoa kapakapa	nickname, pet name	
inoa kūamuamu	reviling name	
inoa kupuna ³⁴	ancestral name	
inoa pili ‘āina ³⁵	name that refers to or honors a family homeland or the child’s birthplace	‘ŌLELO WEHI / ADORNMENT
inoa pili mele	name from a favorite or meaningful song to the mākua (or a kupuna), or a song popular at the time of the child’s birth	
inoa pō ³⁶	sacred name given in a dream	
inoa ‘ulāleo	name spoken by a kupuna or akua ³⁷	
‘ōlelo ho‘okā‘au	witty retort	
‘ōlelo kaena	praising epithet, as for honored people, famous or esteemed people, ma‘i [ali‘i]; also lands, waters, etc.	
‘ōlelo nane	riddle	
‘ōlelo no‘eau	proverb	
	wise saying	
	praising epithet	

Longer forms of verbal, performative, and literary arts include narrative prose and storytelling. Prior to the introduction of writing, mo‘olelo were performed through recitation, storytelling, or dance; writing allowed for the development and inclusion of additional genres and vehicles of recording and transmission. Elbert originally included the categories of genres that are “authored” and “not authored,” but I disagree with some of his findings. For example, he identified mo‘olelo by Kānaka Maoli as “not authored,” when in fact many Kānaka did sign their names to published mo‘olelo, and/or named and thanked their sources. Even when published mo‘olelo, or articles, were not signed, they were written and published by people who might not be known to modern readers but who were often known to their peers. Likewise, he listed mo‘olelo by Euro-Americans as “authored,” even though most haole writers writing in a Hawaiian context were collectors who edited and translated work by Kānaka Maoli they often chose not to name or acknowledge as critical sources. There are many more Kanaka ‘Ōiwi genres of prose that are authored than not, and further study of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i writing from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries supports this argument. Genres of mo‘olelo that are

“not authored” by specific, known individuals are described in western terms as mythology, stories of gods, and folklore, or the stories, narratives, tales, legends, and traditions of the people, often passed down over generations by word of mouth. These have been defined by Pukui and Elbert (1986) as “ka’ao” and “mo’oka’ao”; ka’ao is an older term for “fiction,” problematic in that fiction implies complete, creative fabrication (<http://wehewehe.org>). Within a Kanaka ‘Ōiwi cultural context, however, concepts such as mythology and folklore are not merely fictitious inventions of imagination, but are also historically and genealogically based on real figures and ancestors, some of whom become deified because of their extraordinary feats. The following table provides an overview of genres of oral tradition and “non-authored” prose mo’olelo. Although all are older terms included in Elbert and Pukui’s dictionary, only two were included on Elbert’s original list. I have separated these genres into their own table for clarity.

**Table 5. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts:
mo’olelo ka’ao (traditional non-authored prose)**

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
ka’ao	culturally based folktale, tale, legend,	
mo’o	historical legend, epic, fable, story,	
mo’oka’ao	romance	
mo’olelo		
mo’olelo ka’ao		
mo’o’ōlelo		
mo’oakua	myth, mythology; sacred stories, stories of the divine	MO’OLELO
mo’oali’i	genealogy, history of chiefs	KA’AO /
mo’okahuna	genealogy, history of kahuna, succession	TRADITIONAL
mo’okalaleo ku’una	tradition	(NON-AUTHORED)
	folklore	PROSE
mo’o kupuna	ancestral genealogy	
mo’olelo kālai’āina	political story	
mo’olelo kamaha’o	wonder tale ³⁸	
mo’olelo wahi pana	etiological stories about specific places, geographic features, including wind and rain names	

The table below distinguishes newer categories and terms for creative or imaginative, authored prose, mo’olelo hakupuni. The majority are more specific, modern terms developed for use with ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i education and are not found in Elbert and Pukui’s dictionary. None are included in Elbert’s original list.

Table 6. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: mo‘olelo hakupuni (creative authored prose)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
hakupuni	fiction ³⁹	
mo‘olelo haku wale		
mo‘olelo hana keaka	play, script, drama	
kākuna	cartoon	
kākuni		
mo‘olelo keaka mele	opera	
mo‘olelo ki‘i	picture book for children	
mo‘olelo pōkole	short story	
nowela	novel	
nowela ki‘i	graphic novel	
nowela māka‘ikiu	detective novel	
nowela pilialoha	romance novel	

MO‘OLELO
HAKUPUNI /
CREATIVE
(AUTHORED)
PROSE

The final table below represents genres of mo‘olelo that Elbert described as “authored prose.” There are a number of modern, more specific terms from what Elbert included, due in part to the advancement of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i education in the decades since Elbert and Pukui’s dictionary was completed. I also include older terms that are found in the Hawaiian-language newspapers and other older source materials, as well as terms in Pukui and Elbert’s dictionary that were not incorporated by Elbert into his original list.

Table 7. Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole verbal, performative, and literary arts: mo‘olelo⁴⁰ (authored prose)

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE
<i>Authored texts:</i>	
‘atikala	article
hakule‘i	non-fiction, creative non-fiction
huaka‘i māka‘ika‘i	travel narratives
kānāwai	laws
kānāwai ‘aha‘ōlelo	laws, statues, ordinances enacted by the legislative branch of government
kelekiko	text message
kumukānāwai	constitution
leka	letter
lekapī	recipe
mo‘okū‘auhau	genealogy

Continued on next page

Table 7. *Continued*

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE	
<i>Authored texts:</i>		
mo‘olelo	story, oral story, orature tale, myth, tradition, legend history, chronicle, record literature narrative prose	MO‘OLELO PROSE (AUTHORED)
[mo‘olelo] hikapiliolana	autobiography memoir	
mo‘olelo ho‘okalikiano	spiritual conversion narrative	
mo‘olelo hopu	captivity narrative	
[mo‘olelo] ka‘ao [hakupuni]	creatively retold legend, tale, romance; fiction	
mo‘olelo ‘ohana	family history	
‘olelo hō‘ike	testimony	
paena pāpaho kaiapili	social media	
paena pūnaewe	website	
palapala ‘aelike	treaty	
palapala ‘āina	geographic map	
palapala ‘enehana	technical documents	
palapala ho‘oilina	will, last will and testament	
palapala kauoha		
palapala kamali‘i	children’s literature	
palapala kāmāwai	legal document	
palapala kilokilo hōkū	horoscope	
pepa hō‘ike mana‘o	essay	
pepa laeo‘o	master’s thesis	
pepa lae‘ula	dissertation	
pepa muli puka	graduate paper	
pepa noi‘i	research paper	
pepa puka	thesis	
piliolana	biography	
puke alaka‘i	teacher’s manual	
[puke] ‘alemanaka	almanac	
puke ‘epekema	science book	
puke hakule‘i	non-fiction book	

Continued on next page

Table 7. Continued

KANAKA ‘ŌIWI	HAOLE
<i>Authored texts:</i>	
puke ho‘omana‘o,	
puke mo‘omana‘o	diary
puke kānāwai	law book
puke lawe lima	handbook
puke lekapī	cook book, recipe book
puke noi‘i kū‘ikena	encyclopedia
puke pai	journal
puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo	dictionary
pūnaewele puni honua	Internet

Elbert’s original categories were overly simplified and did not do justice to the many traditional genres of Kanaka Maoli literary and verbal arts. Certainly, some categories I include (e.g., graphic novels and anime) are more modern and did not exist when Elbert was writing, or in the time periods of literature he was writing about. What is clear is that by not delineating all or most of the genres that were in existence at the time, Kanaka Maoli verbal and literary arts do not appear as robust as they actually were. Providing only an overview and not a detailed list of such arts perpetuates, if inadvertently, the negative stereotype of Kānaka Maoli as illiterate, incapable of crafting, and disinterested in such complex and sophisticated literary and verbal art forms. ‘Ōiwi: *A Native Hawaiian Journal* was founded in the late 1990s precisely to dispel such a crippling stereotype. By filling in as many categories as possible (with examples from each), a vibrant intellectual history of Kanaka Maoli arts and letters emerges mai ka pō mai, mai nā kūpuna mai, mai ka waha mai, and i ke au hou (into the contemporary period), whatever the generation, decade, or even century represented.⁴¹ For example, mele hō‘ole lama (Hawaiian temperance songs) developed during the years of the American temperance movement (1840s–1920) leading up to Prohibition (1920–1933).⁴² After Prohibition ended, there was no need for the genre to continue. But a study of such mele would provide important insights to, among other things, the craft and composition of Hawaiian lyrics of such mele, providing opportunity for literary, social, cultural, political, and historical analysis of Hawaiian culture of the time.

It is important to point out as well that not all genres of literature are easily separated by style (poetry, prose, adornment). One example is life writing. As mo‘olelo Hawai‘i scholar and religion professor Marie Alohalani Brown observes, there are a number of diverse Kanaka Maoli strategies “for preserving and transmitting knowledge about the lives of others” (2016:15). Aside from mo‘olelo, Brown points out other Hawaiian “life-writing genres” such as

mele ko‘ihonua (genealogical chants celebrating the connection between gods, humans, and place); mo‘okū‘auhau . . . ; mele inoa (chants commemorating names); mele ma‘i (chants commemorating the sacred procreative potential of genitals), often

composed for ali'i, kānaenae (poetic chants eulogizing gods, people, places, or things); and kanikau (poetic laments referencing gods, people, place, and nature)—just to name a few. (ibid.)

Some of the genres Brown notes are poetic, and some are prose. Thus, it would be impossible to list them together using Elbert's method of separation of topics or themes by literary and poetic form.

Ka'ao is another genre that crosses categories. Brown notes that ka'ao are often characterized as a genre of mo'olelo Hawai'i that "lack[s] the historicity of mo'olelo" (2016:15). Ka'ao (or mo'olelo ka'ao) is defined by Elbert and Pukui as "fanciful tales" and fiction, as well as romances, legends, and tales, while Lorrin Andrews also defines it as a "tale of ancient times" and a "fable," although he also concedes it also describes a "history in the manner of a story" (<http://wehewehe.org>). More specifically, *ka'ao* often describes traditional mo'olelo that contain elements of the superhuman and fantastic, such as those featuring kupua. P. W. Ka'awa (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 23, 1865) noted that ka'ao were entertaining and fun, particularly for ali'i. Hawaiian historian Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, however, considers ka'ao as being "haku wale ia no" (just made up) (Kamakau in Brown 2016:15).

However, ka'ao have "also been explained as a narrative approach to relating history," as "genealogies, mo'olelo, and ka'ao are genres that overlap—a mele ko'ihonua, such as the Kumulipo, which is a genealogy and a sanctifying prayer for an ali'i, may inform mo'olelo, which in turn, may inform ka'ao" (ibid.). Brown provides several examples, including a description of the mo'olelo (ka'ao) of Hi'iakaikapoliopole, the younger, favorite sister of the Hawaiian volcano goddess Pele. In describing the transmission of the mo'olelo from the past to the present, and its transformation from being strictly oral to being written, the two authors, John Ailuene Edwin Bush and Simeona Pa'aluhī, call it both a mo'olelo, connoting a historical framework that, having "constantly evolved, altered" over time, was thus "transformed into a ka'ao until this day" (ibid.). Thus, Brown argues, there is a close relationship between mo'olelo and ka'ao, and they can overlap. Moreover, this relationship is recognized and made evident through nineteenth-century Hawaiian writers like Bush and Pa'aluhī, and others. Thus, "[m]o'olelo can be transformed over time by multiple retellings into ka'ao, which, as Bush and Pa'aluhī's statement seems to imply, is a genre that transforms historical figures into heroes (or even antiheroes) whose exploits may take on heroic proportions" (ibid.).

Brown also points out the interrelation of mo'olelo and ka'ao in the publication history of Samuel N. Hale'ole's *Lā'ieikawai*. It is titled "Ka Moolelo o Laieikawai," but Hale'ole described it as a "mo'olelo ka'ao" in the preface to the first edition (Brown 2016:16). The following year, Hale'ole's *Laieikawai* is published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* with a new title, *Ke Kaao o Laieikawai*. Brown writes,

It is clear by the title that this book was assigned the genre of ka'ao; however, the front matter of the book notes, "Kakauia mailoko mai o na Moolelo Kahiko o Hawaii nei" [Written from ancient mo'olelo of Hawai'i]. What to say of this account first published by the writer as a mo'olelo and later as a ka'ao?

With the appearance of Hawaiian newspapers, these oral forms of life depictions gradually became written and published works as well, and the number of examples is vast. (ibid.)

Mo‘olelo akua (sacred stories) are distinguished from the secular not only by name but in the manner of telling. Therefore, the performance aspect of *mo‘olelo* is important in *ha‘i mo‘olelo*, as it involves distinguishing between types of *mo‘olelo* by tone of voice, vocal expression, and body language. There are a variety of traditional genres of *mo‘olelo*, including epic adventures featuring *me‘e* (hero/ines), stories of morality, tragedies, comedies, and romance, just to name a few. The plot of many Hawaiian romances and *me‘e* tales follows a general pattern that usually includes much detail. Some of these involve superhuman figures, such as *akua* or *kupua*, while others do not.

Mo‘olelo wahi pana (local legends, histories, and narratives of place) preserve and allow *kupuna* knowledge to be passed down—about various locations, some geological and part of the natural environment (such as cliffs, caves, rivers, surf breaks, bays, hills, etc.), as well as those constructed by humans (such as roads, trails, settlements), and other aspects of life in Hawai‘i throughout different time periods. *Mo‘olelo wahi pana* are an integral component of indigenous cartography, mapping the ‘āina (land) and also explaining local phenomena, place (including wind, rain) name origins, and because of this, they are often etiological. They also incorporate relationships and *mo‘okū‘auhau* of *kānaka* and ‘āina.⁴³

As the nineteenth century progressed, *mo‘olelo* transformed from more strictly *mo‘olelo ku‘una* to *mo‘olelo* that embraced and wove western elements into traditional Hawaiian, including themes, literary and poetic devices, and narrative styles.

When western literacy was first introduced in the early nineteenth century, Hawaiians called it “‘ike palapala.” The term for writing (which includes literature), also from this time period, is *palapala*. *Palapala* includes different genres of western writing (described below), although it does not have the exact same meaning as these terms; *mo‘olelo* and the related genres of *oli*, *mele*, and even *hula* (as a category of performance chant; not the dance form, but what is danced to) and other traditional genres are forms of *mo‘olelo* that are not the same as western categories of folklore, mythology, and literature.

Folklore is a western term that describes the traditional stories of “people” (not just humans, but ethnic, tribal, “racial,” national, socio-economic groups) that are often collectively held by the “folk” and not individually authored. Examples of folklore include myths, legends, folktales, proverbs and sayings, riddles and verses, and a variety of artistic expressions that are (or were originally) spoken.

Mythology is a category of stories concerning gods (deities, the divine, *akua*) and superhuman (or supernatural) beings (such as *kupua*) as distinct from stories about humans (*kānaka*). The word *mythology* is derived from the Greek *muthos* (lit., “word or speech”), which owes its significance precisely to its contrast with *logos* (reason, discourse); the latter can also be translated as “word,” but only in the sense of a word that elicits discussion, an “argument.” Both *muthos* and *logos* relate to how humans construct our understanding of the world, but in different ways.

As myth, *muthos* refers to stories concerning gods and superhuman beings. In this regard, myth is the expression of the sacred in words; “it reports realities and events from the origin of the world that remain valid for the basis and purpose of all there is” (Jones 2005:6359).

Consequently, a myth functions as a model for human activity, society, wisdom, and knowledge. The word *mythology* is used for the entire body of myths found in a

given tradition. The popular definition of myth as meaning “untrue” or “fallacy” comes from its emphasis on the sacred and oral, rather than on written argument. The double meaning of myth as both “sacred stories of the divine” originally passed down orally and “untrue” or “fictional” are both applied to Hawaiian mythology; the first is accurate, and the second is not.

History in the broadest sense is the study of the past, recorded and passed down in some way, that is most often associated with writing, at least in the west. It derives from the Greek *historia*, meaning “knowledge acquired by investigation.”

Within the context of literary studies, *literature* refers to written works of artistic merit, typically written by a known author. In this capacity, *literature* encompasses different genres of writing, including various creative works of fiction (stories, novels, poetry, drama). All of the above genres of literature are encompassed by a single term in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i: mo‘olelo.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, ‘Ōiwi and haole writers often published mo‘olelo Hawai‘i alongside each other in nūpepa Hawai‘i (Hawaiian-language newspapers), as well as English translations and adaptations. Much of the rich context of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i is lost in translation from ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i into English, particularly since the western and Hawaiian worldviews are so different from each other. What is lost is not merely linguistic, as no language translates directly into any other language, but more importantly, the loss includes cultural concepts, poetics, aesthetics, and values.

Scholars of ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and mo‘olelo Hawai‘i have worked diligently over the past few decades to recover the core meanings of mo‘olelo, and, in essence, recover its cultural and related values. While such scholars do not always agree on the theories, methods, and practices surrounding this recovering, they are universally united in appreciating the tremendous gift mo‘olelo Hawai‘i is to Hawai‘i and the world, a true cultural treasure worthy of celebration and ka ‘imi loa (deep, lifelong study).

MAI KA PŌ MAI: E MŌ‘AUKALA ANA I KA MO‘OLELO (PALAPALA) HAWAI‘I / HISTORICIZING HAWAIIAN LITERATURE

One of the most important aspects of studying mo‘olelo Hawai‘i is understanding that it is not ahistorical. Western theories of literary analysis, such as Formalism and New Criticism, insist on examining the form and aesthetics within texts independent from the conditions of production (“art for art’s sake”). Other western theories of literary analysis, such as Feminism or Queer Studies, focus on first world contexts that fail to address the unique specificities of indigenous cultural contexts of each. Thus, from an indigenous perspective, such analyses are incomplete, as mo‘olelo have always had a social, political, cultural, and thus historical context. This coincides with the understanding that mo‘okū‘auhau underpins everything in Hawaiian culture and society.

Hawaiian-language professor Rubellite Kawena Johnson was among the first to teach Hawaiian literature in a university setting. Johnson also put forth a framework of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, but in a historicized context. As part of her introductory readings for her Hawaiian Literature in Translation (Hawaiian 261) course at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Johnson introduced a historicized Hawaiian literature with recognized time periods of development and classifications of genres. First, she lays out the genres of “ancient” or classical Hawai‘i:⁴⁴ sacred literature, court traditions, and

prosaic works. Johnson defines sacred literature as the *pule* (temple prayers) and ritual chants performed for ceremony at *heiau* (religious temples) that are distinct from secular *mo‘olelo*. Court traditions are those “connected with the affairs of the chiefs and nobles of the districts” and “with political implications” that are distinguishable from “household tales, legends, [and] anecdotes . . . concerning the common everyday work and life of the [rest of Hawaiian] society” (Johnson 2001:12). Prosaic works (the narration of myths and legends) are *mo‘olelo*, *ka‘ao*, and *mo‘okū‘auhau* “in conversational style or recitation without music or singing” that are distinguished from “poetic (*mele*) rendition[s] of traditions, songs, and chants” accompanied by singing,⁴⁵ music, and/or dance; these are called *mele oli* (sung or chanted poems) and *mele hula* (choreographed songs).⁴⁶ Johnson further separates genealogies into two categories, *mo‘okū‘auhau* (recited genealogies), and “*kōihonua*”⁴⁷ (chanted genealogies).

Johnson presents four general time periods of *mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*: the mythical, the migratory, the period of settlement, and the historical, crediting Māori scholar Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck) for a Polynesian model for her Hawaiian literary analysis. Three of the four periods are set in the centuries prior to western impact. These are:

1. **Mythical**, comprising a pre-human period of activity, involving the birth or creation of the universe (cosmogonic), the works and actions or relationships of the gods, and the creation of [humans] and [their] early foundations.
2. **Migratory**, comprising a heroic period of adventure by navigators and canoe-voyagers (and passengers) in finding a home from ocean wandering and initial settling, and partially romantic in the associations or conflicts of the heroes with their women partners or antagonists during their exploits of discovery and exploration. The epic tradition belongs to this period, although as a type, the epic is scant (although not entirely vacant) in the surviving heroic lore.
3. **Settlement**, comprising a heroic/romantic period of . . . wars, struggles between chiefs to establish political control and social harmony, characterized by tragedy or triumph among antagonists, in the competition for wealth in land, power over people and society, or acquisition of women of rank for the expansion of rank, power, or fame. (Johnson 2001:13)

Johnson adds a fourth category to Hiroa’s original three, which is a historical period marked by the arrival of *haole* to Hawai‘i. Theoretically, Kānaka Maoli were introduced to writing as early as the first voyages of British captain James Cook (1778), although it wasn’t until the arrival of the first permanent settlement of American Calvinist missionaries in 1820 when formal instruction in *heluhelu* (reading) and *kākau* began. Johnson defines this period as:

4. **Historical**, comprising periods after discovery of Hawai‘i by Europeans, reporting of the Hawaiian culture and society by non-Hawaiian authors largely to European audiences after 1778 (Captain James Cook in Hawai‘i), and the introduction of writing by American missionaries in 1820 [*sic*: 1823].

This period may be qualified by the advent of the dynasties, the Kamehameha and the Kalākaua, and by the dual activity of writers who were observers (foreign) of Hawaiian society when aboriginally intact and absorbing foreign ideas and customs, thereafter followed by native reporters or recorders who had learned to write of

their own traditions and experiences from the indigenous background. (Johnson 2001:13)

Johnson further discusses the complexities of mo'olelo palapala (written mo'olelo) from the classical period, as the historical, post-1778 era included both foreign observers and Native informants, reporters, and recorders, or writers. Foreign observers included haole explorers and a mix of other visitors and temporary residents (including travel writers), as well as the first haole settlers, such as missionaries, merchants, and their descendants. From the mid- to late nineteenth century, such haole were "writers and scholars whose interests were literary and historical, or romantic and descriptive" (Johnson 2001:13–14). Since that period, Johnson continues,

they now include more serious scholars of anthropology, sociology, and linguistics from a scientific interest, or those who are interested in reconstruction of Hawaiian history through reanalysis of the former writings. In this group belong the early twentieth century collectors (such as Abraham Fornander and Thomas G. Thrum) of traditions and folklore. (*ibid.*)

Johnson (*ibid.*:14) does not elaborate on Native informants, reporters, or recorders, other than to name a handful of early scholars (Henry 'Ōpūkaha'ia, who wrote from Cornwall, Connecticut, and the well-known scholars of Lahainaluna Seminary, David Malo, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, John Papa 'Ī'i, Samuel N. Hale'ole, and the Catholic seminary student Z. K. Kepelino), and the early twentieth-century scholars Mary Kawena Pukui and Charles Kenn.

It is worth noting, however, that Kānaka Maoli writers of the early historical period (1778–1940s) were more than just informants to haole writers, reporters sharing their observations of their lives and times, and recorders of information passed along from others. Recognizing the vital importance of reading and writing, Kānaka Maoli created and enthusiastically contributed to a massive archive of written materials, such as nūpepa (newspapers), puke (books), unpublished manuscripts, buke mele (mele books, collections of oli and mele), and papers, a number of which are still held in private collections, such as the Bishop Museum and individual families, and public repositories (e.g. public libraries and the Hawai'i State Archive). While the vast majority remain untranslated from 'ōlelo Hawai'i, and unindexed, there is a conservative estimate of over one million pages of written Hawaiian texts.

During this vibrant period of blossoming literacy, Kānaka Maoli composed new mo'olelo and mele in numerous traditional genres (see Tables 2–7), applied old genres to new contexts (e.g., kanikau for the demise of a newspaper that went out of business), and created new genres (e.g., mele aloha 'āina, or patriotic songs, were particularly prolific in the tumultuous period between the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893 and the illegal annexation to the United States in 1898). Kānaka writers from across and beyond the Hawaiian archipelago enthusiastically contributed to lively debates and discussions in newspapers on mo'olelo, mele, and mo'okū'auhau, many explaining the urgency in preserving and perpetuating such valuable information for future generations. They also actively translated foreign literature into Hawaiian, further expanding Kānaka Maoli literacy and participation in the literary arts. School teachers, such as J. N. Kānepu'u, appealed to fellow Kānaka to write and share their knowledge about

Hawaiian geography—including place names, mo‘olelo, mele, mo‘okū‘auhau, and vocabulary words—to use as textbooks and educational material for younger generations of Kānaka, a project he himself contributed his own knowledge to.⁴⁸

In her university courses, Hawaiian nationalist, scholar, and professor Haunani-Kay Trask taught students that sources must be considered when undertaking a critical analysis of mo‘olelo in all genres. Therefore, identifying primary and secondary sources and distinguishing between native and non-native observers and writers can determine the perspective a mo‘olelo is told or written from, with positive and negative biases revealed. Some of the questions Trask has insisted are imperative to ask when considering sources include, what is their Hawaiian-language fluency? What is their religious background? How long did they observe/participate in the culture they are writing about? In this way, Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation’s (EKF) Papakū Makawalu methodology of makawalu (*lit.*, “eight eyes or multiple perspectives”) is helpful in analyzing mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i (Hawaiian literature) and providing multiple insights into it.⁴⁹ As Hawaiian-language professor Puakea Nogelmeier has succinctly argued, the majority of untranslated, difficult-to-access mo‘olelo Hawai‘i (more so in the age of Internet searches) has been supplanted by a handful of insufficiently translated texts.⁵⁰ This “discourse of sufficiency” functions to override the ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and Kanaka Maoli-authored texts that provide valuable insight into mo‘olelo Hawai‘i and much, much more. On this point, Polynesian religion scholar John Charlot (2005:2–3) writes:

Literature was a central pursuit in classical Hawaiian culture. Hawaiians quickly adopted writing and published books. . . . Only a small portion of this material has been studied, and even less has been translated and published, yet it is valuable not only as literature, but as a source of information for cultural, historical, and social research. Western humanistic scholarship is based on the study of primary documents and has developed sophisticated methods for interpreting them. Scholarship is, in fact, being untrue to itself when it permits work in Hawaiian Studies that is not as solidly grounded in documentary work as that required in other fields.

The early period of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i is a complicated mix of haole writing in English (primarily writing for haole audiences in and outside of Hawai‘i), haole writing in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (primarily for Kanaka Maoli audiences mostly in Hawai‘i), and Kanaka Maoli writing in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i for each other (in and outside of Hawai‘i). Many haole writing in English did not name or credit Kānaka Maoli as sources, thus claiming knowledge of Hawaiian culture and traditions as their own, even when such knowledge was scant or shaky.⁵¹

During the mid- to latter half of the nineteenth century, Kānaka Maoli also began incorporating English into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i composition, and writing in English. Some, like Queen Lili‘uokalani, wrote some genres, such as mele, in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i primarily for Kanaka Maoli audiences, while writing her autobiography, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* (1898) in English, geared toward an American audience.⁵² The Queen’s decision to write mele in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and *Hawaii’s Story* in English demonstrates the complicated political context of the 1890s to 1900s, as Hawai‘i—and Hawaiians—navigated the rough seas of political and cultural sovereignty. Yet, Brandy Nālani McDougall and Georganne Nordstrom argue that the Queen skillfully employed kaona (poetic, sometimes veiled metaphors) in her English prose that allowed her to speak masterfully to

both Kanaka ‘Ōiwi and haole audiences, employing what Malea Powell refers to as “a rhetorics of survivance” (inspired by R. Scott Lyons’s “rhetorical sovereignty”) that “show ways [kaona] has been and continues to be employed as an aesthetic standard as well as a call for resistance, and how it is a means of both cultural and national citizenry” (quoted in McDougall and Nordstrom 2011:102). This practice continues with contemporary Kanaka Maoli writers in English, demonstrating that some elements of cultural expression, such as the incorporation of kaona, can be expressed in and beyond ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

It is around this time that mo‘olelo Hawai‘i begins to take a decidedly political turn, one that continues to influence modern Kanaka Maoli writers and scholars in all areas of our work, including literature. Thus, while the earliest period of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i incorporates Kanaka Maoli and haole writers, as Johnson’s chart indicates, a distinct separation between the two begins to take shape in the 1890s through the influence of mo‘okū‘auhau as foundation for lāhui Kanaka (Hawaiian nation, people) and aloha ‘āina (Hawaiian nationalism) politics.

Johnson’s (2001) table “Periods of Hawaiian literature” offers a chronological overview of the development of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i across the historical period. The first four time periods are generally marked by the duration of the reign of ali‘i nui (high chief) or mō‘ī (sovereign) from 1778 through the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893, the illegal annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States in 1898, and the designation of Hawai‘i as a territory of the United States in 1898; two additional time periods (items 5 and 6 in the table below) split the era of U.S. possession of Hawai‘i across most of the twentieth century (1900 to the 1980s).⁵³

Johnson’s chronology is an early model of building an ahu mo‘olelo Hawai‘i (cairn of Hawaiian literature). Such a model is useful in considering critical reflection points of culture, language, and the development of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i. Johnson’s chart is the foundation for the expanded chronology of nā au mo‘olelo palapala i Hawai‘i (periods of literature in Hawai‘i) presented below, an important step towards uncovering and recovering such valuable palapala and the wealth of information they hold. It also helps us map the complexities and trajectories of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i and Hawaiian literary genealogies. I retain the first four of Johnson’s original time periods, calibrate the next three to better align with general political eras of U.S. occupation, and add an additional era to bring it up to the current time (2000s). While I retain much of the original information Johnson provides, I include more information in each of the designated time periods, which are also organized differently.

Table 8. Nā au mo‘olelo palapala i Hawai‘i (periods of literature in Hawai‘i)

1. 1782–1819

Brief historical overview: End of Kalani‘ōpu‘u’s reign (1782); death of Kamehameha I (May 1819), overthrow of the ‘Aikapu and establishment of the period of ‘Ainoa (free eating) enacted by Liholiho (Kamehameha II), his mother, Kamehameha I’s sacred wife Keōpūolani, and Kamehameha’s politically powerful wife Ka‘ahumanu, and Keōpūolani, with the spiritual leadership of the kahuna nui (high priest) Hewahewa.⁵⁴

‘Ōiwi writers: Kānaka Maoli exposed to western literacy from the start of western arrival in 1778, but no formal training yet. Ka‘ū native Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia (1792–1818) traveled to New England in 1808 where he learned to read and write. He began creating a Hawaiian dictionary, spelling guide, and grammar book, but died before they were completed. His memoirs were first published posthumously in New York by Rev. Edwin Dwight in 1818. ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia’s memoirs inspire the New England Calvinist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to choose Hawai‘i to settle and proselytize to the Native people.

Observer writing: Firsthand accounts of explorers—ship logs and journals (Captains James Cook and James King; crew members, such as John Ledyard). Beginning of a colonial narrative of European discovery, conquest, and exploration of Hawai‘i relative to similar narratives across Moana Nui.

2. 1819–54

Brief historical overview: Reigns of Mō‘ī Kamehameha II (Liholiho) (1819–24) and Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) (1825–54); initial ABCFM mission period; first permanent settlement of foreigners.

‘Ōiwi writers: Kanaka Maoli writing begins with journalism and recording Hawaiian history and traditions as a foundation for curriculum in teaching reading and writing.

First wave of Kanaka Maoli scholars includes David Malo, Samuel N. Hale‘ole, John Papa ‘Ī‘i, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, and Z. K. Kepelino, among others.⁵⁵

1838: *Ka Moololo Hawaii* (The history of Hawai‘i) published, the first history of Hawai‘i by Kānaka Maoli. Ten scholars at Lahainaluna Seminary are unnamed in the publication, although haole teacher Sheldon Dibble is listed as editor.⁵⁶ It is considered the first book published featuring Kanaka writers, the first “published in the native language, and the first concerted effort to bring Hawaiian oral tradition into writing” (Nogelmeier 2005: xvii, xviii).

1840: David Malo, *Moolelo Hawaii*

Observer and settler writing:

Writings (journals, diaries) of explorers, traders, and missionaries. Composition of Hawaiian hymns.

1826: Codification of the Hawaiian alphabet.

1831: Lahainaluna Seminary established; training of first wave of Kanaka Maoli scholars begins (see “‘Ōiwi writing” above).

1834: Mission press at Lahainaluna Seminary, its newspaper *Ka Lama Hawaii* founded; Honolulu mission press and the newspaper *Ke Kumu Hawaii* founded.

‘Ōiwi and settler writing law; translation of important texts:

1822: First written laws, posted as notices in Honolulu and geared towards rowdy foreign sailors (1822).⁵⁷

1825: Hawaiian ali‘i adopt the Biblical Ten Commandments as the foundation of the first criminal code.

1834–35: First criminal code, called the “Blue Laws,” written.⁵⁸

1837–39: Palapala Hemolele (also Baibala Hemolele) translated into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i; the Old Testament is translated from Hebrew and New Testament from Greek.⁵⁹

1839: *He Kumukānāwai a me ke Kānāwai Ho‘oponopono no ko Hawai‘i Nei Pae ‘Āina* (declaration of rights; considered by some the first Hawaiian constitution and the “Hawaiian Magna Carta”) written by Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli) and ali‘i in his government,

Table 8. *Continued*

along with Lahainaluna scholars, including Boaz Mahune, who composed the ‘ōlelo ho‘ākaka (the preamble) and the complete first draft.⁶⁰

1840: *Ke Kumukānāwai o ka Makahiki 1840* (The 1840 constitution), the first detailed constitution; detailed the organizational structure and responsibilities of government branches and created the House of Representatives.⁶¹ Written by Kamehameha III and Kuhina Nui (Premier) Kekāuluohi.

1852: *Ke Kumukānāwai a me nā Kānāwai o ka Mō‘ī Kamehameha III* ([Amended] constitution and laws of his majesty Kamehameha III), considered one of the most democratic constitutions of its time, particularly due to its strong bill of rights (Articles 1–21) and universal male suffrage (Article 78).⁶²

3. 1855–75

Brief historical overview: Reigns of Mō‘ī Kamehameha IV (Alexander Liholiho) (1855–63), Kamehameha V (Lot Kapuāiwa) (1863–72), Charles Lunailo (1873–74).

The establishment of the independent presses reflects the growth of an articulate, literate, bilingual Kanaka Maoli society, hailed (by the 1880s) as one of the most literate (and, in extension, civilized) in the world.

‘Ōiwi writers: The flourishing of ‘Ōiwi literacy results in a proliferation of myriad genres of literary composition, particularly in the newspapers—mele inoa (name songs); mele ‘aimoku (chants of the chiefs); mele kanikau (dirges, laments, eulogies); mo‘olelo (histories, epics, and legends, particularly those from the mythic period and period of initial settlement, or the mo‘olelo mai nā kūpuna mai, mai ka waha mai), and foreign mo‘olelo translated into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Publication of traditional mo‘olelo, mele, and mo‘okū‘auhau begins to blossom in independent newspapers such as *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (The star of the Pacific), the first ‘Ōiwi-run newspaper established independently of the government and mission presses. It was founded by J. K. Kaunamano and edited by G. W. Mila and David Kalākaua.⁶³ Its first issue was published on September 26, 1861, and included haole and ‘Ōiwi writers.

1863: *Ke Kaao o Laieikawai* (Legend of Lā‘ieikawai) by S. N. Hale‘ole; first Hawaiian novel published as a book in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.⁶⁴

1864: *Ke Kumukānāwai o ka Makahiki 1864* (*Nā Kānāwai o ka Mō‘ī Kamehameha V*) (1864 Constitution, laws of his majesty Kamehameha V). New constitution promulgated by Kamehameha V (Lot Kapuāiwa).

1865–71: Samuel M. Kamakau publishes extensive “Moolelo Hawaii” series in the newspapers *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ke Au Okoa*.⁶⁵

1867: *Ka Moolelo o Heneri Opukahaia* (M memoir of Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia), translated into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, edited by Rev. S. W. Papaula, and published in New York.⁶⁶

1869–70: John Papa ‘Īī publishes “Na Hunahuna Moolelo” series in the newspaper *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Feb. 5, 1869–May 28, 1870).

Observer and settler writing: Rise of competitive Hawaiian journalism with the government, mission (Catholic, Protestant), and independent presses; travel writing by visitors.

1856: The government newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, the first newspaper outside the mission presses, is established.

Table 8. *Continued*

4. 1874–98

Brief historical overview: Kalākaua dynasty period; reigns of Mō‘ī David Kalākaua (1874–91) and Lili‘uokalani (1891–93); overthrow of the Hawaiian government (1893); provisional government of Hawai‘i (1893–94); Republic of Hawai‘i (1894–98); illegal annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States (1898); Hawai‘i made a territory of the U.S. (1898).

‘Ōiwi writing: Under Kalākaua’s leadership, hula flourishes; development of hula ku‘i leads to a profusion of composition of new mele; publication of mo‘olelo, mele, and mo‘okū‘auhau continue. Serialized mo‘olelo published in various newspapers are prolific.⁶⁷ Political writing addressing social conditions, such as the necessity of the leper settlement at Kalaupapa, Molo-ka‘i, bills and legislation, and active debates focused on Aloha ‘Āina politics, such as restoring Hawaiian independence after the overthrow or participation in the U.S. political system.

Important books published by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi in this time period (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English):

1886: *Na Mele Aimoku, na Mele Kupuna, a me na Mele Ponoī o ka Moi Kalakaua I* (Dynastic chants, ancestral chants, and personal chants of King Kalākaua I); first national songbook published in honor of Kalākaua’s birthday (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).

1888: Kalākaua and Roland Daggett, *Hawaiian Myths and Legends*, the first collection of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i published in English.

1889: *He Pule Hoolaa Alii* (A prayer to sanctify the chief), also known as “Kumulipo” (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).

1891: *Moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua I* (biography of king Kalākaua I) by Joseph M. Peopoe (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁶⁸

1897: *An Account of the Creation of the World According to Hawaiian Tradition*, translated by Queen Lili‘uokalani, the first English translation of the Kumulipo.

Observer and settler writing: Collection and translation of Hawaiian mo‘olelo into English by Abraham Fornander, Thomas G. Thrum, and others; political writing advocating a closer relationship to the U.S. (reciprocity, annexation)

1875: *Kuikahi Panai Like* (Reciprocity treaty) enacted, a trade agreement that gave the U.S. military control of Pu‘uloa (Pearl Harbor).

1878–87: Abraham Fornander’s collection of Hawaiian history and genealogy published as *Account of the Polynesian Race*.

1887: Bayonet Constitution, which stripped power from the office of Mō‘ī granted in the 1864 constitution, forced on Kalākaua under the threat of death (hence its moniker).⁶⁹

1887: After his death, Fornander’s collection of Hawaiian mo‘olelo and mele edited, translated, and published by Thomas G. Thrum as *Memoirs and Hawaiian Antiquities* (three volumes).

5. 1898–1959

Brief historical overview: Hawai‘i becomes a U.S. territory (1898), then the 50th U.S. state (1959). First representatives elected to Congress are Kānaka Maoli with ali‘i genealogies—Robert Kalanihiapo Wilcox (1855–1903), who served from November 6, 1901, to his death on March 3, 1903; and Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole, who (1871–1922) replaced Wilcox in Congress, serving from March 4, 1903, until his death on January 7, 1922.

Table 8. *Continued*

‘Ōiwi writing: mo‘olelo Hawai‘i, ka‘ao, mo‘okū‘auhau, and mele; translation of foreign mo‘olelo into Hawaiian continues in Hawaiian-language newspapers. Culture and language experts such as Mary Kawena Pukui and Charles Kenn work with haole scholars, particularly at the Bishop Museum, in translating and interpreting Hawaiian-language materials. Kānaka ‘Ōiwi continue publishing mostly in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i until the last Hawaiian newspaper, *Hoku o Hawaii* (star of Hawai‘i) folds in 1948; Kānaka also writing in English.

Important books published by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi in this time period (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English):

1898: *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen* by Lili‘uokalani (English).

1900: *Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa* (The wind gourd of La‘amaomao) by Moses Nakuina (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷⁰

1902: *Moolelo Hawaii o Kalapana, ke Keiki Hoopapa o Puna* (The Hawaiian legend of Kalapana, the riddling child of Puna [Hawai‘i]) by Moses Nakuina (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷¹

1904: *Hawaii, its People, their Legends* by Emma Kailiopua Nakuina (English).

1904: *Mookaao Hawaii no Kahalaopuna* by W. H. Kapu (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷²

1904: *Nanea wainohia no Makakehau* by W. H. Kapu (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷³

1904: *Ka Naauaua ana no Kaala* by W. H. Kapu (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷⁴

1906: *Kaluaikeoolau* by John G. Sheldon (Kahikina Kelekona) and Pi‘ilani Ko‘olau (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷⁵

1908: *Ka Buke Moolelo o Hon. Joseph K. Nawahi* (Biography of the honorable Joseph Nāwahī) by Kahikina Kelekona (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).

1938: *Ka Huakai a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani* (The journey of Queen Kapi‘olani [to England]) by James L. W. McGuire (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i).⁷⁶

Observer and settler writing: Continued collection of Hawaiian mo‘olelo translated and published in English (William D. Westervelt, Joseph Emerson, Nathaniel B. Emerson, Padric Colum); scholars of folklore, linguistics, anthropology (Martha W. Beckwith, Katharine Luomala, Helen Roberts, Samuel H. Elbert, Kenneth P. Emory, E. S. Craighill Handy) begin scholarly work such as compilation of Hawaiian lexicon, collection, and interpretation of ethnographic and cultural information, collection of mele. Literature and language scholars (Alfons Korn, Theodore Kelsey) also begin western literary analysis.

1910–23: First editions of Hawaiian legends collected, edited, translated and published by William D. Westervelt (*Tales of Maui, Hawaiian Myths and Legends, Legends of Gods and Ghosts, Legends of the Volcano, Legends of Old Honolulu*).

1909: *Unwritten Literature of Hawai‘i* by Nathaniel B. Emerson published (English); no Hawaiian sources credited.

1915: *Pele and Hi‘iaka, a Myth from Hawai‘i* by Nathaniel B. Emerson published (English); no Hawaiian sources credited, despite his reliance on previously published mo‘olelo by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi.⁷⁷

1916–17: *Forander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore, vols. I–III* published in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i with English translation.

1918: *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, translated into English and published by Martha W. Beckwith.⁷⁸

Table 8. *Continued*

1926: *Folktales from Hawaii* collected, translated into English and published by Laura S. Green; edited by Martha Warren Beckwith.

1932: *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii* translated to English; edited and published by Beckwith.

1959: First exposure of Hawai'i to the U.S. via television (*Hawaiian Eye*).

6. 1960s–'70s

Brief historical overview: Statehood era, beginning of third Hawaiian cultural renaissance, rise of ethnic pride coinciding with Civil Rights and other Native rights movements across the United States; Hawaiian political consciousness and activism based on Aloha 'Āina politics continues with protests against increasing development of Hawaiian lands (Kalama and Waiāhole valleys, O'ahu), protests against U.S. military use of Hawaiian lands begins (Waikāne valley, O'ahu; Kaho'olawe); Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ōhana forms.

'Ōiwi writing: John Dominis Holt, an 'Ōiwi writer with ali'i lineage, founds Topgallant Press and begins publishing his own work in multiple genres (novels, short-story collections, poetry, plays), as well as the works of others. Poets such as Haunani-Kay Trask, 'Imaikalani Kalāhele, Puanani Burgess, Ho'oipo DeCambra, Dana Naone Hall, Wayne Kaumuali'i Westlake, and Māhealani Kamau'u begin publishing work primarily in English with some 'ōlelo Hawai'i and/or HCE with decidedly Aloha 'Āina political and cultural themes. First wave of Kanaka 'Ōiwi literary activism in English. Kanaka Maoli literary production coincides with similar activity across the Anglophone Pacific.⁷⁹ Hawaiian-language writing continues and begins to reemerge.

Rise of cultural and political consciousness reflected in increased interest in 'ōlelo Hawai'i, and the preservation and perpetuation of 'ōlelo Hawai'i in all forms, including preservation and translation of traditional mo'ōlelo (including mele), and the creation of new ones. This coincides with the founding of the Merrie Monarch Hula Festival and the increasing popularity of hula in the modern era.

Important books published by Kānaka 'Ōiwi in this time period ('ōlelo Hawai'i, HCE, and English):

1975: *Nā Inoa Hōkū, A Catalogue of Hawaiian and Pacific Star Names* by R. Kawena Johnson and John Kaipo Mahelona published in 'ōlelo Hawai'i and English, one of the first scholarly texts by Kānaka 'Ōiwi in this time period; one of the first publications by John Dominis Holt's Topgallant Press, the first Native Hawaiian book publisher in nearly a century.

1976: *Waimea Summer* by John Dominis Holt; considered the first Kanaka 'Ōiwi novel written in English.

1978: *The Kumulipo: An Hawaiian Creation Myth* by Lili'uokalani, edited by Kimo Campbell, reprinted for the first time in its entirety in eighty years.

1979: *Lei Momi o 'Ewa* by Sarah Keli'ilolena Nākoa, one of the first contemporary publications in 'ōlelo Hawai'i; one of the first publications by the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i, a non-profit Hawaiian-language association headed by Dorothy Kahananui.

Observer, settler, and "local" writing: Travel writing about Hawai'i by visitors and settlers to promote Hawai'i as a tourist destination, haole settler and novelist Oswald Bushnell begins publishing historical novels; Jean Charlot experiments with Hawaiian playwriting.

Table 8. Continued

Contemporary literature written in English and HCE by various plantation-rooted immigrant settlers (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese, Puerto Rican) emerges as “local” literature, and includes Kanaka Maoli voices, although not as many haole ones. Rise of poetry, drama, short stories, and novels by Hawai‘i-based writers in the first ethnic writing classes at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa; anthologies, journals, and literary magazines begin.

7. 1980s–2000s

Brief historical overview: Continued statehood; increase in cultural and political (national) consciousness and Aloha ‘Āina politics, culminating in the commemoration of the centennial of the overthrow of the Hawaiian government (1993) and subsequent increasing calls for sovereignty.

‘Ōiwi writing: Continued writing in multiple genres in English and HCE; increased publication in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i under the influence of Hawaiian-language education programs from preschool to post-high levels; increased adaptations of Hawaiian mo‘olelo in staged drama; multimedia comedy (television, audio recordings by Andy Bumatai, Rap Replinger, Lee Cataluna); increased biographies and life writing on important Kānaka Maoli (Joseph Nāwahī, Ruth Ke‘elikōlani); haku mele (song writing) continues in Hawaiian, English, and even HCE; scholarship in diverse fields, including literature, language, ethnography, anthropology, Hawaiian studies, music, dance, political science. Translation of classic English literature into Hawaiian, such as *Charlotte’s Web* (*Ka Pīnāwelewele o Charlotte*) and *Alice in Wonderland* (*Nā Hana Kupanaha a ‘Āleka ma ka ‘Āina Kamaha’o*), and original stories composed in Hawaiian, increases, reflecting mo‘olelo palapala of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Important books published by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi in this time period (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, and English):

- 1981: *Kumulipo, Hawaiian Hymn of Creation* by Rubellite Kawena Johnson.
- 1985: Poet Dana Naone Hall edits *Mālama: Hawaiian Land and Water*, an issue of Bamboo Ridge, the first to feature Hawaiian themes and writers.
- 1986: *He Buke Laau Lapaau, Hawaiian Medicine Book* translated by Malcolm Nāea Chun (English); *‘Ōlelo No‘eau, Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* by Mary Kawena Pukui (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English).
- 1986: *The Last Village in Kona* by Mason Altiery, one of the first political novels to address contemporary Kanaka Maoli issues, such as protecting Kaho‘olawe, published by Topgallant Press (English, HCE).
- 1989: *Ka Honua Ola, the Living Earth* by Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele and Duke Kalani Wise published in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English; it is the first publication of the recently established Kamakakuōkalani Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.
- 1989: *Ho‘omānoa: An Anthology of Contemporary Hawaiian Literature*, edited by Joseph Puna Balaz, was published, one of the first to feature contemporary poetry written, edited, and published by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, English).

Table 8. *Continued*

1997–present: ‘*Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*, established by editors D. Māhealani Dudoit and ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, along with the non-profit Kuleana ‘*Ōiwi Press*. ‘*Ōiwi* is a culturally-focused multi-genre journal of Kanaka Maoli literature and arts that combines writing in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, and English, reprinting and also translating writing from previous generations, as well as new writing from the present. ‘*Ōiwi* was founded in a climate where Kānaka were considered unable to produce literature. To date, over 300 Kanaka ‘*Ōiwi* writers have been published in the journal, many published for the first time.

2002: *Kalāhele*, the first poetry and art collection by long-time ‘*Ōiwi* poet Īmaikalani Kalāhele published (HCE, English).

2002–present: “Kauakūkalahale,” a weekly ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i newspaper column is published in the *Star-Advertiser* (formerly *Star-Bulletin*). It is coordinated by Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa.

2007: *Uluhaimalama*, the first poetry collection by long-time ‘*Ōiwi* poet Māhealani Perez Wendt is published by Kuleana ‘*Ōiwi Press* as the inaugural book launching the Wayne Kaumuali‘i Westlake monograph series (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, English). This was followed by *The Salt Wind*, *Ka Makani Pa‘akai* by Brandy Nālani McDougall in 2008 (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, English).

2007: *Honua*, a collection of poetry by Sage U‘ilani Takehiro, is the inaugural publication of Kahuaomānoa Press, founded and run by University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa students (‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, HCE, English).

2009: *Islands Linked by Ocean*, a collection of short stories by Lisa Linn Kanae, published with Bamboo Ridge Press (HCE, English).

2013: *This is Paradise: Stories*, a collection of short stories by Kristiana Kahakuwila, published by Penguin Books (HCE, English).

New media adaptations of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i: In addition to mo‘olelo Hawai‘i in print, new media, such as video, DVD, CDs and websites, beginning in the 1990s emerged. For example, while ‘Aha Pūnana Leo already had a well-established print media department publishing book and related print materials in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (with some English translation) going back to the mid-1980s, video adaptations of traditional mo‘olelo such as *Ka‘ililauokekoa* (2000) were also produced.

1982–2015: Nā Maka o ka ‘Āina produced several dozen videos (later available via DVD) on a number of Hawaiian cultural, political, and educational topics, such as *This is Pele’s Appeal* (1989), *An Act of War* (1993) and *Mālama Hāloa* (2014).

1992–present: *Nā Maka o Kana* is a Hawaiian-language immersion schools student-focused newspaper in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. It is published by Hale Kuamo‘o, the Hawaiian Language Center within Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani, College of Hawaiian Language, University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. It is the longest-running contemporary ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i publication.⁸⁰

1996: *Holo Mai Pele* is produced as a staged hula drama by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation (EKF) and Hālau o Kekuhi; it is developed into a picture book and feature film (2001) for PBS’s “Great Performances” series, later released on DVD.

1998: After publishing poetry for thirty years, poet Joe Balaz releases his first CD of audio poetry, *Electric Laulau*. This was followed by a second CD of audio poetry, *Domino Buzz* in 2006.

Table 8. *Continued*

2001: Lopaka Kapanui's "A Pagan Tattooed Savage" is first recorded on a CD of audio poetry, *Poetry Without a Net*. It is later turned into a stage play (2002) and a short video poem.

2009: Spoken-word poet Jamaica Heolimele Osorio performs "Kumulipo" at the White House as a "Brave New Voices" poetry competition winner.⁸¹

2011: Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL) creates a series of animation and graphic novel story adaptations, written by Lee Cataluna: *Pele Searches for a Home*, *Why Maui Snared the Sun*, and *The Menehune and the Birds*.⁸²

2011: 'Āina 'Ōiwi is a combination live-action and animation children's educational program in 'ōlelo Hawai'i produced by 'Aha Pūnana Leo.⁸³

2013: Kamehameha Schools Kea'au campus produces an 'ōlelo Hawai'i hula opera performance of "Keaomelemele," based on Moses Manu's mo'olelo published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (1884).

2015: *Lā'ieikawai*, the first 'ōlelo Hawai'i drama staged at UH-Mānoa's Kennedy Theatre, is produced. Written by Haili'ōpua and Kaliko Baker, adapted from S. N. Hale'ole's *Laieikawai* (1863).

Observer, settler, and Asian settler ("local") writing: Contested identification and categorization of "local" literature coincides with tensions over ethnic identity, insider/outside, belonging, and the definitions of "local" and Asian settler. Sometimes problematic misrepresentation of Kānaka 'Ōiwi, our language, and culture (e.g., *Blu's Hanging* and *Heads by Harry* by Lois Ann Yamanaka; *The Haole Substitute* by Walt Novak).

Performance adaptations of mo'olelo; collaborations between Kānaka 'Ōiwi and others:

2006: *Naupaka* written by M. Puakea Nogelmeier, choreographed by Peter Rockford Espiritu and performed by Tau Dance Theater, considered the first contemporary Hawaiian-language opera in three acts.

In addition to the continued production of mo'olelo Hawai'i and related arts within Hawai'i, the cultural and political kinship between indigenous Pacific communities has also encouraged Kanaka Maoli arts. This is evident in the comradery between writers, poets, and artists across Oceania who share similar concerns and often express analogous themes. The growth of Pacific arts and comparative genealogical research reestablishes lineality and encourages composition of name, family, migration, and chiefly chants asserting kinship ties across Moana Nui.

It is evident that there has been a dynamic blossoming of mo'olelo Hawai'i since the 1960s, remarkable only because of dire predictions that, under strong pressure to assimilate into mainstream American culture, Kānaka Maoli would be completely subsumed and lose all markers of distinct cultural identity, including our language and arts. However, Kānaka Maoli have been successful in preserving, protecting, and reestablishing the use of 'ōlelo Hawai'i in all forms (speaking, writing, reading, and performance), as well as succeeding in creating and maintaining a dynamic production of verbal, performative, and literary arts in English. 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and mo'olelo Hawai'i have and will continue to grow in both print and alternative multimedia, and a separate study on mo'olelo, both oral and written since the year 2000 alone, would be an important and worthy undertaking.

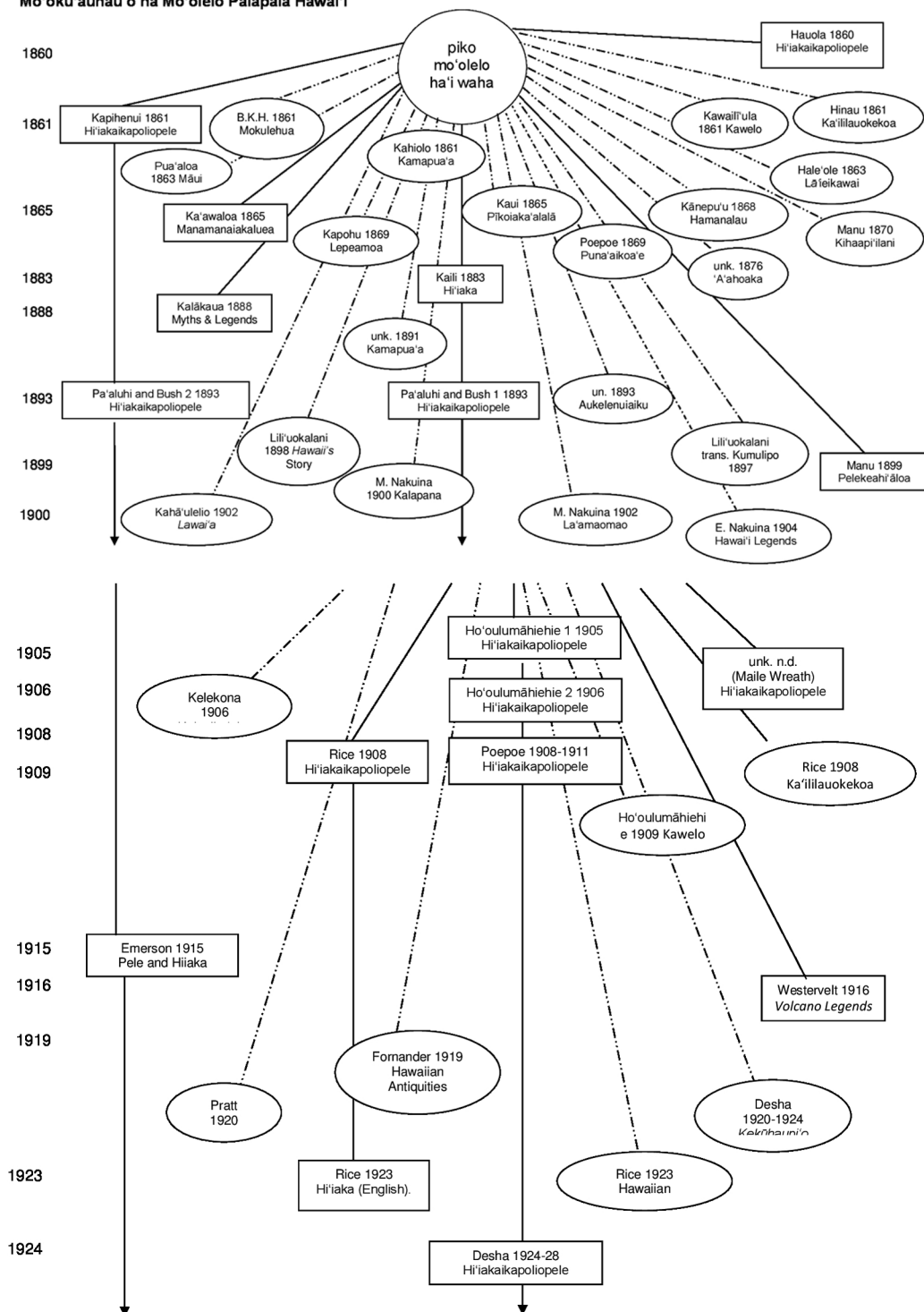
KA PIKO MO‘OLELO PALAPALA HAWAI‘I / THE [ORAL] ROOTS
OF HAWAIIAN LITERATURE

If *palapala* references writing, why do I argue that mo‘olelo ha‘i waha (oral tradition) is a part of it? In her essay “What is Hawaiian literature?” Johnson (2001:8) notes that “for ‘literature’ to properly exist, there must be a writing system.” She then focuses on orature and literature composed in the pre-writing era of Hawaiian history (pre-1820).⁸⁴ In previous work on Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo, I have described this as the piko (center, starting point, point of connection between generations in a genealogy) of Hawaiian literature, “ka piko mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i,” as demonstrated in the model below.

I identify the piko mo‘olelo as the center or starting point for narratives.⁸⁵ It is a metaphor that resonates with mo‘olelo Hawai‘i having a genealogical lineage—the piko is also the navel that connects each of us through the umbilical cord to the womb. Similarly, mo‘olelo begin as ha‘i waha (oral tradition) mai ka pō mai, and transmitted across time through performances such as storytelling, talking story, songs, and chants memorized and passed down mai nā kūpuna mai. When writing was introduced to Hawai‘i, Kānaka Maoli saw this new technology as something of extreme value with which to document, preserve, and perpetuate knowledge and history that previously could only be stored and transmitted through memory. As the century progressed, Kanaka Maoli society experienced a devastating population collapse from foreign-introduced diseases like syphilis, measles, and the bubonic plague. At this critical period, Kānaka Maoli grappled with the sober reality that traditional knowledge long passed down mai ka pō mai, mai nā kūpuna mai, mai ka waha mai, was dying with the people who carried it. During this time of massive death, social upheaval, and political change, writing and its ability to preserve, share, and thus perpetuate knowledge in another way was a miracle. For the first time, mo‘olelo ha‘i waha could be written down, typeset, printed, and distributed.

The piko mo‘olelo graph above shows the different versions of the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo in boxes, to demonstrate the “genealogical” connections between them.⁸⁶ Where known, the last names of authors and the years of publication are shown, with a partial title referant to the main character. Where the author is not known, it is indicated by “unk.” (unknown). In comparison, a sampling of about two dozen other mo‘olelo ku‘una passed down mai ka pō mai, mai nā kūpuna mai, and mai ka waha mai, being printed for the first time during this time period, are shown in ovals. It is a starting point that can be expanded, demonstrating a three-dimensional relationship between mo‘olelo (and their genealogies) both synchronically and diachronically (across time and space). This chart is not a complete list of mo‘olelo published in newspaper or as books, in part because there are so many it is impossible to fit them on a single chart. I have begun initial research in linking mo‘olelo that don’t initially appear to be related in any way, with some success, but much more work remains to be done. For example, mo‘olelo can be studied synchronically across a single time period (everything published in 1893, for example, to see what insight such an undertaking might provide in understanding the events surrounding the overthrow of the monarchy). Studying mo‘olelo published by a single author, such as the writing of Moses Manu (who published versions of Lauka‘ie‘ie, Keaomelemele, Pelekeahi‘āloa,

Mo'okū'auhau o nā Mo'olelo Palapala Hawai'i



Mo'okū'auhau of the Mo'olelo Palapala Hawai'i as they descend from the piko ha'i waha. The mo'olelo in the boxes are Pele and Hi'iaka mo'olelo, while those in ovals are examples of other mo'olelo ku'una being published in the Hawaiian-language newspapers between 1860–1928.

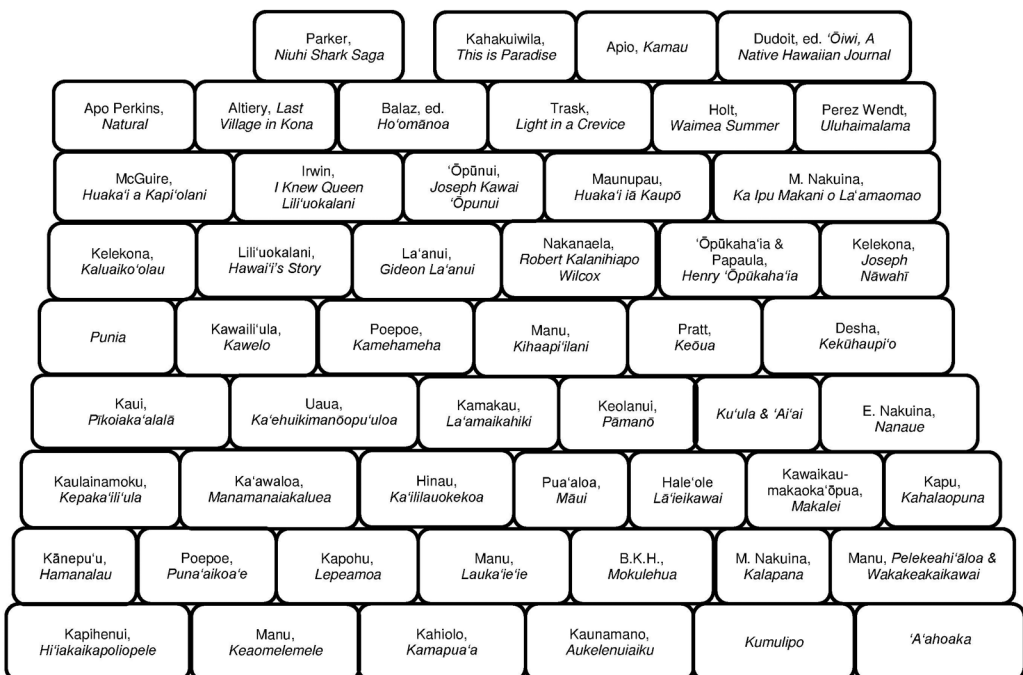
Kihaapi‘ilani, and many more) could elucidate understanding of an author’s particular knowledge or style. The study of mo‘okalaleo meiwi as well. While studying various publications of a central character(s), such as Pele and Hi‘iaka, across time periods and locations can provide much insight into the process of translation, adaptation, variation of knowledge, perspective, emphasis on different aspects of knowledge, culture, language, style, poetics, and aesthetics, which my own work on Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo discusses.⁸⁷

KA LA‘ANA MAOLI O KA ‘IKENA MAKAWALU: HE AHU MO‘OLELO / MULTIPLE PERSPECTIVES AS INDIGENOUS MODELING: A CAIRN OF STORIES

A piko mo‘olelo model can be constructed for other genealogies of mo‘olelo ku‘una. It is useful in demonstrating connections between all mo‘olelo. In the case of the Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo, specific versions, like Emerson’s *Pele and Hi‘iaka, a Myth from Hawaii* (1915) draws directly from M. J. Kapihenui’s “He Moolelo no Hiiakaikapolio-pele” (1861), as well as an undated, unpublished, handwritten manuscript in the Bishop Museum Archives (HI.L23) with the same name. The piko model can also demonstrate the connection between different texts by a single author for prolific writers such as Moses “Moke” Manu or Samuel Kamakau.

Another relevant, culturally-based model is that of an ahu. An ahu is a three-dimensional structure most often constructed from dense basalt stones. Each stone metaphysically represents individual mo‘olelo. Each level of pōhaku (stone) can also

He Ahu Mo‘olelo Palapala Hawai‘i



represent an au (epoch or time period) in nā au mo'olelo palapala (the literary time periods). Moreover, the three-dimensional structure represents the depth and breadth of mo'olelo (ha'i waha and palapala), including those that will forever remain hidden from us for varying reasons (e.g., lost over time), yet whose presence is absolutely imperative to support subsequent layers of the structure, giving it strength and stability over time. Below is a conceptual model of what an ahu mo'olelo could look like.

Obviously, not all known mo'olelo are listed here, and some titles are shortened versions of the originals as there is not enough room on one face of the ahu. The top layer is intentionally left incomplete to symbolize the ongoing construction of the ahu. But if each pōhaku represented one mo'olelo and the ahu is three dimensional, then there is ample room on the other three faces, unseen here in a one-dimensional representation. Moreover, the ahu model allows space for all the unknown mo'olelo lost over time, which would be the unseen pōhaku forming the interior of the ahu structure.

Why is it necessary or desirable to put forth multiple indigenous models of mo'olelo palapala or to create any model in the first place? First, it is necessary to show the depth and complexity of 'Ōiwi intellectual, creative, and artistic history that cannot be encapsulated or explained by a single model. Second, models help us organize such complexity, giving us a snapshot into how we can better understand and perhaps digest Hawaiian literature in a meaningful, culturally relevant way. Third, because the concept of makawalu not only allows but requires multiple views, as it is part of the process of such research methods. As work by 'Ōiwi scholars such as Leialoha Apo Perkins, Maile Arvin, Marie Alohalani Brown, Rubellite Kawena Johnson, Monica Ka'imipono Kaiwi, Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahēle, Bryan Kamaoli Kuwada, Brandy Nālani McDougall, Manu Meyer, Hiapo Ferreira, Noenoe Silva, Haunani-Kay Trask, myself, and others demonstrates, there are multiple, layered, and sophisticated ways to view, analyze, study, interpret, and even create Hawaiian literature, and the more we collectively do so, the more we and others can appreciate and celebrate the depth and breadth of ka mo'olelo palapala Hawai'i.

HA'INA 'IA MAI ANA KA PUANA—E MAU ANA KA 'IMI LOA / THE STORY IS TOLD—THE RESEARCH CONTINUES

"Ha'ina 'ia mai ana ka puana" (thus the story is told) is a common refrain that signals the end of some mele. While this foray into sketching out some parameters of mo'olelo palapala Hawai'i is coming to a close, like the ahu mo'olelo itself, it is an ongoing work in progress. This is not the conclusion but a temporary resting point along the huaka'i noi'i mo'olelo, the journey into literary research. This is an introduction to some of the scholarship that has been published up to this point and an attempt to map out thoughts, vocabulary, and categorization of mo'olelo Hawai'i.

In her landmark essay, "Writing in Captivity," Haunani-Kay Trask (1999:17) discusses her position as "a writer who has inherited two traditions, one colonial, the other resistant. I was born into captivity, a Native person in a non-Native world, a Hawaiian in an American colony," that has suffered under a long history of American and settler colonialism, resulting (in part) in "the near-total imposition of foreign ways and thoughts" where "our traditions, our Native voices, literatures, and oratures have been silenced or extinguished all together." And yet, Trask concludes, "although they

have been marginalized, Hawaiian resistance voices are not marginal,” as the oral traditions, embodied by traditional performance of hula, oli, and mele—which are also intertwined with ka mo‘olelo palapala—exhibit:

A century after the overthrow of the Hawaiian government by U.S. marines in 1893, thousands of Hawaiians commemorated that evil event at the Palace of our chiefs in Honolulu. Our greatest contemporary chanters, masters of *hula hālau* (dance academies), greeted the throngs who poured onto the Palace grounds. After nearly twenty-five years of a Hawaiian revival in the language, the arts, and most visibly, in the struggle for our mother, the land, the two springs of our Hawaiian renaissance—cultural and political—merged together in a demand for sovereignty, for political representation among the world’s family of nations.

Modern Hawaiian writing is part of this resisting and reconstructing process. (ibid.:17–18)

As Trask succinctly observes, the post-1960s cultural and political renaissance in Hawai‘i has, for Kānaka Maoli, resulted in increased opportunities to thrive in our cultural practices, including writing, which is intrinsically linked now, as in the past, to politics. We continue to haku, kākau, and document our thoughts, experiences, dreams, wishes, hopes, and desires. We continue to embody this aspect of our culture through writing, chanting, singing and dance. We haku in multiple and expanding forms, using newer tools—pen(cil) and paper, computer keyboard—to haku new stories, essays, blogs, and more. Genres of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi verbal, performative, and literary arts will continue to expand particularly in the age of digital media. Definitions of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i will evolve, and thus, a history such as this one tracing its origin and evolution is necessary for current and future scholars of Hawaiian literature, and those who appreciate and support it. So what does the future hold?

What Trask describes in 1999 as the flourishing of Hawaiian arts and politics on the grounds of ‘Iolani Palace commemorating the centennial (1993) of the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893—a time when mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i flourished—continues decades later with no signs of abating. The most recent incarnation of Aloha ‘Āina social justice and literary activism is the ongoing battle against construction of the TMT (Thirty Meter Telescope) atop the sacred summit of Mauna Kea.⁸⁸ Thousands of pages of written testimony, new mele, new ‘ōlelo no‘eau, and new mo‘olelo, along with hula, visual, and multimedia arts have been composed and shared across social media, recorded in legal archives, and published in new poetry anthologies. Kānaka Maoli stand at Standing Rock, fighting against the Dakota Access Pipeline, we stand with Black Lives Matter. We write with them, we write for them, and for many other causes. Writing is part of our cultural heritage, one born of two traditions, one we continue to practice and perfect, as authors, periods, and genres of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i will continue to expand.

Emalani Case, of the next generation of Kanaka Maoli writers, begins her blog post “Write, Write, and Right On!” by quoting esteemed Tongan writer and anthropologist Epeli Hau‘ofa’s “Write You Bastard”: “There lies your hope. Hope to rage and write. To rage and dance and stomp-shake the ground . . . laugh and rage and write, write, keep on writing, don’t stop till you get there.” A kupa (native born) of Waimea, Hawai‘i, an area that sits just below Mauna Kea, Case is currently studying in Aotearoa (New Zealand),

thousands of miles from home, unable to be physically present on Mauna Kea. Like those of us who have, as playwright Lee Cataluna (June 17, 2001) describes it, taken up the ‘ō‘ō (digging stick) of knowledge—the pen—Case writes. Through her writing, Case embodies and enacts the intertwining of composition and action:

I write because I have to. . . . I choose to picture a world better than this one . . . to imagine a mountain free of telescopes . . . so I rage and write, write, and *right* on for the future that I’ve pictured, imagined, and dreamt of: a future where my descendants will not have to fight against the desecration of their sacred sites. This includes every “site,” from their land, to their ocean, to their very bodies, minds, and hearts. I may be called radical; I may even be called naïve. But my body burns, heated with rage, and as I write, I can no longer feel the cold. I am warmed by movement, by social movements of hope, justice, freedom, and true aloha!

So these are my words, my poetic ragings. I will write, sing, shout, and dance them, taking my fingers from the keyboard and putting them to the sky, the sea, and the soil, as I choreograph a better future, my feet dancing, stomp-shaking the ground. Whatever happens, continue to rage. Continue to write, write, and *right* on. E kūpa‘a mau ma hope o ka pono [continue to be steadfast in support of justice]. (Case, June 24, 2015)

In the afterword for the *Oxford Handbook of Indigenous Literature*, I reflect on the future of indigenous literatures, a future I imagine for mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i as well:

In the twentieth century, our feet sprouted horsepower as we put the pedal to the metal, we happily collect airline miles as we jet around the globe, zip through cyberspace like digital natives, prepare to board *wa‘a* [canoes] transformed into rocket ships and space shuttles that carry us into the heavens to traverse the realm of our gods. Likewise, our literatures . . . travel with . . . and beyond us, in words spoken, recorded in audio, video, and written, in articles, books, and blogs. Our ancestors were global before globalization, and we still are. For us, this vast region [of the Pacific] is not the New World of European discovery. Rather, it is Our World, the place we’ve always been. Our literature, our voices, have always been more expansive than any single . . . archipelago or island can contain. Vibrant Indigenous voices have occasionally been stilled, but they have never been completely silenced. I imagine they never will be. Our literatures . . . have always been more than mere “ethnographic reportage” and about issues of “authentic” identity politics. The concept of makawalu . . . comes from a traditional *mo‘olelo* of Pe‘ape‘amakawalu, an eight-eyed bat, who had extraordinary powers of vigilance and observation. It is also applied to the diversity of our worldviews, philosophies, opinions, practices, theories, and writings that tell us such diversity is culturally acceptable, encouraged, and even necessary for our cultures to thrive. Our arts have always been cornerstones of our cultures, transforming and evolving with us. As the poetic and literary accomplishments of our cultures spiral through time, connecting the past and present to the future, we are reminded that “the past *and* present is bright with moral, intellectual, and artistic significance,” as the light of understanding shines from the past and illuminates our continuing work today and tomorrow. (ho‘omanawanui 2014a:679)

On Mauna Kea and on University of Hawai‘i campuses across the pae ‘āina (archipelago), ahu have been constructed and consecrated since the arrests of dozens of kūkia‘i mauna protectors in 2015, a spiritual reminder of Kanaka ‘Ōiwi kuleana (rights,

responsibilities) to our ‘āina, kūpuna, and culture. The building of such ahu connects us across time to our genealogical, cultural, spiritual, and intellectual ancestors.

In closely examining the historical trajectory of mo‘olelo Hawai‘i in all its forms, some questions inevitably arise. First, is it possible to ever recover all mo‘olelo Hawai‘i from the past? If what was composed and transmitted orally was not preserved beyond individual memory, the answer is regrettably no. If mo‘olelo were written or published, but if the books, journals, and newspapers they were written or published in did not survive over time, the answer again is no. While Kānaka Maoli have the largest indigenous language archive across North America and Moana Nui, an estimated 1.5 to 2 million pages, we still mourn the loss of any ‘ike kupuna (ancestral knowledge), including mo‘olelo, ka‘ao, and mele that have not survived across time.

Thus, what are the consequences of not recovering such knowledge? Can we ever know the depth of such consequences? What are the puka (holes) in our ‘ike Hawai‘i that we don’t even know are there? How might these puka contribute to the instability of our ahu mo‘olelo, and continue to build it up with future stories containing the ‘ike of future generations?

Questions of access, archive, and preservation also emerge. Can any media guarantee permanent preservation? Digital media is promising, but anyone who has had a computer crash or suffered through a hack or an untimely power failure knows that even current technology is imperfect. But like our kūpuna, he ‘oia mau nō kākou—we continue on. We persevere. So does our ‘ike, our mo‘olelo, our collective efforts to produce new mo‘olelo, ka‘ao, mele, hula, oli, and more, as much as we continue to preserve, perpetuate, study, and mālama (care for) mo‘olelo handed down mai nā kūpuna mai. The continued practice of writing is another physical, intellectual, cultural, and spiritual connection to our ‘āina, kūpuna, and culture, as we continue to build the ahu of mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i, a legacy for nā mamo ma hope aku, the generations yet to come.

NOTES

1. Later in this essay, I describe Hawaiian literature as mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i, which specifically refers to writing. I do not always incorporate palapala into the term because oral stories are an integral part of Hawaiian literature, which references only writing.

2. Kanaka Maoli, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, Kanaka Hawai‘i, ‘Ōiwi, and Native Hawaiian are synonyms that reference the indigenous people of the Hawaiian Islands, and are thus used interchangeably throughout this essay.

3. *Haole* is often translated as “a Caucasian or white person of American or European descent.” I am adopting Jace Weaver’s term *Amer-European* (which he acknowledges borrowing from John Joseph Matthews) because of the connotation of the term, which Weaver (1997:xiii–xiv) explains is different from the more familiar *Euroamerican*. *Amer-European*, he writes, “connotes something very different. They are Europeans who happen to live in America. Matthew’s terminology reflects the difference in worldviews between the two peoples, Native and non-Native. Born of and shaped by a different continent, Amer-Europeans will never truly be of this continent, never truly belong here, no matter how many generations they may dwell here.” Hawai‘i is not part of the North American continent, and arguably not even a part of the United States. However, the term is appropriate to define haole under the rubric of settler colonialism.

4. See Stillman 1994.

5. An example is embodied in the ‘ōlelo no‘eau “Ka ‘elele leo ‘ole” (“The silent messenger. A letter. It brings messages but does not speak”) (Pukui 1983:140). Another example is “Ka ‘elele leo ‘ole o ke aloha” (“The voiceless messenger of love. A letter bearing words of love and cheer”) (ibid.).

6. Efforts to make English a foundational language in the Hawaiian kingdom began as early as the 1840s. Richard Armstrong (also known as “Limaikaika”), a former missionary who became the second minister of public instruction, was also an “English-mainly” advocate (Lucas 2000:4). Under Armstrong, “the first government-sponsored school in English was established in 1851, and by 1854, government-run English schools were effectively competing with the Hawaiian-medium schools” (ibid.:5).

7. U.S. federal law is dependent upon a racially based blood quantum measurement: *native Hawaiian* is legally defined as fifty percent or more “Hawaiian blood,” while *Hawaiian* or *part-Hawaiian* is defined as less than fifty percent blood quantum. *Native Hawaiian* was first defined by federal law in the Hawaiian Homestead Commission Act of 1920, section 201(a)(7), ch. 42, 42 Stat. 108 (1921), 108. This legal definition was later adopted by the State of Hawai‘i (15 HAW.REV.STATE.Ann.331). Other federal statutes state that “the term ‘native Hawaiian’ is used to cover all persons who are descended from the people who were in the Hawaiian Islands as of 1778, when Captain James Cook” arrived. The most recent (re)definition of *native Hawaiian* is found in the “Native Hawaiian Reorganization Act of 2009,” more commonly referred to as the “Akaka Bill.” It states that a “native Hawaiian” is an “individual who is one of the indigenous, native people of Hawai‘i and who is a direct lineal descendant of the aboriginal, indigenous, native people who resided in the islands that now comprise the State of Hawai‘i on or before January 1, 1893” (<http://www.gop.gov/bill/111/1/hr2314>).

It is important to point out that blood quantum distinctions are based on U.S. race-based law and are culturally irrelevant in traditional Hawaiian society. Prior to colonization, Kānaka Maoli did not discriminate against each other along the lines of blood quantum, which is separate from cultural protocols regarding mo‘okū‘auhau. Because the English terms *native Hawaiian*, *Hawaiian*, and *part-Hawaiian* have been used as weapons against Kānaka Maoli to divide our communities, many Kānaka Maoli reject the colonial terms altogether in favor of the indigenous-language terms. When *Native Hawaiian* is used, a capital *N* is preferred to distinguish the compound noun *Native Hawaiian* as an identity descriptor separate from the state and federal legal definition.

8. Ethnomusicologist Amy Ku‘uleialoha Stillman has pointed out that the 1960s–‘70s is actually a second cultural renaissance, the first being the revitalization of arts and culture under King Kalākaua’s reign (1874–91). After hula had been banned by American Calvinist missionaries in 1838 and forced underground (see Silva 2000), Kalākaua encouraged the public practice of hula and other Hawaiian arts, earning him the moniker the “Merry Monarch” and the ire of the haole missionary descendants (Stillman, personal communication, July 26, 1994; Silva 2000:29–48). More recently, Ron Williams (2014) has argued that the first renaissance began prior to Kalākaua’s reign with Lot Kapuāiwa, King Kamehameha V, who sponsored canoe races “at his birthday and other occasions,” and who “signed into law an ‘Act to establish a National Museum,’ which ensured that native history, preserved and celebrated in an institutional setting, would be at the fore of Hawaiian national identity” in 1872.

9. See Kimura 1985:173–184.

10. Beginning level courses in Hawaiian language at the college level are not always taught in an immersive environment, as students entering such courses are often new to the language. However, every effort is made to get to an immersion environment as quickly as possible, often by the second semester of first year classes.

11. For example, in the 1930s, the Hawaiian Language League was organized; in the 1950s, “Lalani Hawaiian Village was created for the purpose of teaching Hawaiian language and cul-

ture”; in the 1960s, Ulu Mau Village in He‘eia “was created with a similar goal”; in the 1970s, the ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, which is still in existence today, was founded with similar goals (Kimura 1985:197).

12. I say reimplementation as ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was the sole medium of instruction in government-run schools during the kingdom era, until the first English-medium school was established in 1851. By 1854, government-run English-language schools were competing with Hawaiian-language ones (see Lucas 2000). See also the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo website (<http://www.ahapunanaleo.org/index.php?/about/history/>).

13. No authors write in multiple indigenous Pacific languages or multiple colonial languages, although some (such as Grace) have been translated into French, and others (such as Spitz) have been translated into English. Few scholars and writers are fluent in more than one indigenous or colonial language.

14. In recent scholarship on the Northwest Hawaiian Islands, anthropologist and Hawaiian studies professor Kekuewa Kikiloi argues that there are Hawaiian equivalents found in Hawaiian-language documents, which are not found on contemporary western maps. See “Rebirth of an Archipelago, Sustaining a Hawaiian Cultural Identity for People and Homeland,” *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 6 (2010): 73–115.

15. *Ho‘oulu lāhui* was first used by King Kalākau in the 1880s to encourage repopulation of Kānaka Maoli. It has since been adapted to metaphorically represent a flourishing and continuity of Hawaiian culture and arts.

16. See Morales 1998. In more recent scholarship, the terms *settler* and *Asian settler* are also being used in place of *local*. See Saranillio 2013.

17. John Charlot defines three categories of Hawaiian culture, the first being *classical*, which contains “cultural elements that originated in the pre-contact period and were perpetuated with changes or developments, including genealogies, hula, and certain Hawaiian religious practices and values. . . . The word classical . . . impl[ies] a developing but continuous history. I use *classic* in the sense of a famous or recognized exemplar of a type” (2005:xxv). The other two periods Charlot defines are *traditional*, which includes “both classical cultural elements and those that originated in the postcontact period and were transmitted . . . [an] umbrella term for both types of transmitted practices and materials” and *foreign*, “cultural elements that originated outside of the Hawaiian community, many of which were adopted, usually with modifications, by Hawaiians” (ibid.).

18. Specific genres of hula, such as hula ki‘i (hula with puppets or marionettes), were also associated with the performance of some mo‘olelo ku‘una. One example is when Pele’s older sister Kapō‘ulakīna‘u arrives on the island of Ni‘ihau with several of her siblings, one of whom, Kewelani, performs a hula ki‘i. See Moses Manu, “He Moolelo Kaa Hawaii no ke Kaua Nui Weliweli ma waena o Pelekeahialoa a me Wakakeakaikawai,” *Ka Loea Kalaiana*, June 10, 1899, 1.

19. See Perreira 2011.

20. Unsure if this is a specific genre of poetry, but it is different than ko‘ihonua, which is specifically described by Pukui and Elbert as a “genealogical chant” (<http://wehewehe.org>).

21. Defined by Pukui and Elbert as “conversational chant” which features “fast rhythmic chant[ing] or recitation, with every syllable clearly pronounced and without prolonged vowels and not requiring too much breath,” comparable to the paha chants. Also, “interruption, to interrupt; choppy,” which may be where the name of the chant style comes from (<http://wehewehe.org>). Others consider it only a chant style (Stillman 2009).

22. Defined by Pukui and Elbert as “a wailing dirge” (<http://wehewehe.org>). A dirge is “a lament for the dead . . . a mournful song . . . or poem” (<http://merriam-webster.com>). Others consider it only a chant style (Stillman 2009).

23. Hawaiian-language newspapers sometimes identified some genres of mele with the

word *mele* preceding the term; Pukui and Elbert do not. For some examples, see Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 23, 1867, 1; “Pauahi ke Alii,” *Ka Makaainana*, December 23, 1895, 1.

24. See Nogelmeier 2001a.

25. Defined by Pukui and Elbert as “a style of chanting with prolonged vowels and fairly short phrases, much used in love chants; to chant in this fashion; to read or recite” in this manner (<http://wehewehe.org>). However, kumu hula R. Kahai Topolinski (2005) recognizes ho‘āeae as a genre of mele in his discussion of “Mele Pua Panese,” a dirge written for the High Chiefess Nancy Wahinekapu Sumner Ellis upon her death in 1895 by John Moanauli, a cousin to Queen Emma. See https://apps.ksbe.edu/kaiwaikoumoku/kaleinamanu/mele-hou/mele_pua_panese.

26. In Elbert’s original list, oli and mele hula are set in the same row. I’ve separated them into their own categories here.

27. Defined by Pukui and Elbert as “an improvised or conversational chant, as the *kepak-epa*,” as well as the act of improvising such a chant (<http://wehewehe.org>). Others consider it only a chant style (Stillman 2009).

28. A genre of mele listed by Kamakau (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 21, 1867; 1996:237).

29. Identified by Nogelmeier and Stillman ([1895] 2003) as a genre included in *Buke Mele Lahui*.

30. Mele lāhui are comprised, in part, of mele aloha ‘āina. Francisco Jose Testa, editor of the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Makaainana* and *Buke Mele Lahui: Book of National Songs*, gathered mele aloha ‘āina into a collection of mele lāhui. See Testa (1895) 2003.

31. Mele ‘aimoku, mele kupuna, and mele pono‘ī are categories of mele compiled and published as a book in 1886 and gifted to Mō‘ī Kalākaua during his reign. These mele “include those composed for the ruling chiefs of old and members of their courts, traditional pieces inherited by families from earlier generations, and personal chants newly composed for the king and the leading figures of his era” (Nogelmeier 2001:xii).

32. *Inoa* applies to more than just people; it includes places (‘āina, kai), winds (makani), and rains (ua).

33. Name provided by the ‘aumākua or kūpuna. Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1974:94–97.

34. Ibid.

35. *Inoa pili* ‘āina and *inoa pili mele* are possibly newer genres of ‘ōlelo wehi that show the continuity of Hawaiian naming traditions. See Kiele Gonzalez 2014.

36. *Inoa pō* literally means “night name” and refers to names derived from dreams, provided from the ‘aumākua or kūpuna, given in a dream to a member of the family. Elbert defines it as a “sacred name.”

37. Name provided by the ‘aumākua or kūpuna; *lit.* “voice name” (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1974:94–97).

38. Akin to “fairy tales,” which are more specifically western European in origin. See Bacchilega 2013.

39. *Ka‘ao* is an older term defined by Pukui and Elbert as “fiction” (<http://wehewehe.org>).

40. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i terms for genres of foreign-authored writing, such as anime, comic, and comic strip, are still being developed and thus not included here.

41. See Noenoe Silva 2014:102–17 for a discussion of literary genres of this time period with selected examples of each.

42. See Carolyn DeSwarte Gifford 2001.

43. For examples, see Katrina-Ann R.K.N. Oliveira 2014; Candace Fujikane 2016.

44. Also called the “classical period”; see Charlot 2005:2.

45. Johnson included the term *kepakepa* in parentheses to define *singing*; the *Hawaiian Dictionary* defines *kepakepa* as “conversational chant, fast rhythmic chant or recitation, with every

syllable clearly pronounced and without prolonged vowels and not requiring too much breath” (Pukui and Elbert 1986:145).

47. Johnson defines “kōihonua” as “belonging to the placenta/earth” (2001:12).

48. For an example, see Kānepu‘u’s “Kaahele ma Molokai,” *Ke Au Okoa*, October 17, 1867, 4.

49. Papakū Makawalu is an indigenous, specifically Kanaka Maoli epistemology and theoretical methodology founded by kumu hula and cultural practitioner Dr. Pualani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, with workshops and teachings run by the Edith Kanaka‘ole Foundation. The EKF website describes Papakū Makawalu as “the ability of our kupuna to categorize and organize our natural world and all systems of existence within the universe. Papakū Makawalu is the foundation to understanding, knowing, acknowledging, becoming involved with, but most importantly, becoming the experts of the systems of this natural world. Papakū Makawalu connotes the dynamic Hawaiian worldview of the physical, intellectual and spiritual foundations from which life cycles emerge.” For more information, see <https://www.edithkanakaolefoundation.org/current-projects/papaku-makawalu/>.

50. See Nogelmeier 2010.

51. One example of such is Martha Warren Beckwith, discussed in McDougall 2015.

52. Some of the Queen’s autobiography was translated into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and published in the nūpepa *Ke Aloha Aina* as “Ka Buke Moolelo Hawaii i hakuia e ka Moiwahine Liliuokalani ma Wasinetona,” April 2, 1898–January 14, 1899.

53. The 2001 edition includes an additional time period (1980s–present).

54. In “Revisiting the Overturning of the ‘Ai Kapu,” Keikio‘ewa Ka‘ōpua (2013) argues that the ‘ai kapu was not broken and that it “was, and still is, waiting for the next Mō‘ī to reinstate it.”

55. Publications by these scholars form the foundation of Hawaiian history, culture, and literary studies well into the twentieth century. Some, such as Malo’s *Moolelo Hawaii* (*Hawaiian Antiquities*), Samuel M. Kamakau’s works, and Hale‘ole’s *Moolelo o Laieikawai* (*Story of Lā‘ieikawai*) have undergone multiple English translations and editions. Nogelmeier (2013) identifies Malo, Kamakau, Ī‘ī, and Kepelino as the foundational texts that have underscored his “discourse of sufficiency” argument, meaning, far too many scholars have failed to look beyond uneven English translations of these texts as sufficient to write secondary scholarship on Hawaiian history.

56. Nogelmeier writes, however, that “notes from a faculty meeting in 1835 include a list of ten students from the first class at Lahainaluna who were to be detained for further study: [Davidā] Malo; Puapua; [Jonah] Kapena; Naumu; [Boaz] Mahune; Kaio; Moku; Elemakule; Napela; and Malaihi,” noting “[i]t is likely that this group, or most of them, comprised the core of scholars who interviewed elders and chiefs and composed the history essays” (2005:xviii–xix).

57. See Kuykendall 1938:121.

58. “Blue Laws” later revised in 1839. Not published in English until 1842 as *Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Established in the Reign of Kamehameha III*.

59. Translations of the book of Matthew was completed in 1828; the books of Mark and John in 1829; the New Testament in 1832, with a revision in 1836. The entire Bible translation into ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was completed in 1839.

60. The 1839 Kumukānāwai is translated into English and published in *The Hawaiian Spectator*; both ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English versions are reproduced in *Ka Ho‘oilina: Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (see [Kamehameha III et al.] 2002). Hawaiian historian Jon Osorio (2002:16–17) disputes Mahune’s authorship and theorizes it is actually crafted by missionary William Richards.

61. The Hawaiian and English versions are reproduced in *Ka Ho‘oilina: Journal of Hawaiian Language Sources* (see Kamehameha III and Kekauluohi 2002).

62. Amendments were undertaken in 1851–52 in “an extensive . . . process involving the people, nobles, and monarch [that] resulted in a new fundamental law of the Islands” (introduction to Kamehameha III and Keoni Ana 2002:181).

63. Mookini 1974:16. The first independent haole newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* [The Independent Press], published by Henry M. Whitney (settler), appeared a week later on October 1, 1861. It was initially edited by ABCFM missionary L. H. Gulick until 1865 and included haole and ‘Ōiwi writers.

64. Many nineteenth- and early twentieth-century titles of published mo‘olelo were very long; the complete original title of Hale‘ole’s publication is *Ke Kaao o Laieikawai ka Hiwahiwa o Paliuli Kawahineokaliula*.

65. The bulk of Kamakau’s publications during this time period are later translated and published as books under the titles *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Bishop Museum Press, 1964), *The Works of the People of Old: Na Hana a ka Po‘e Kahiko* (Bishop Museum Press, 1976), and *Tales and Traditions of the People of Old: Nā Mo‘olelo a ka Po‘e Kahiko* (Bishop Museum Press, 1991); for an extensive annotated bibliography of Kamakau’s works, see Nogelmeier 2010:174–223.

66. The original title of the Hawaiian translation is *Ka Moolelo o Heneri Opukahaia, ua hanaia ma Hawaii, M. H. 1787, a ua make ma Amerika, Feberuari 17, 1818*.

67. A few examples of such mo‘olelo palapala Hawai‘i published during this time period include: “He Moolelo no Aahoaka, ke Koa a me Kona Hanau Kupanaha” [The legend of ‘A‘ahoaka, the warrior, and his unusual birth], *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 30, 1876–March 3, 1877; Kaili [Emma Kailiopua Nakuina], “Hiiaka: A Hawaiian Legend by a Hawaiian Native,” *Pacific Commercial Daily Advertiser*, August 25–October 13, 1883; Simon Pa‘aluhi and John Ailuene Bush, “Ka Moolelo o Hiiakaikapoliopole” [The Legend of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole], *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, January 5–July 12, 1893; “He Molelo [sic] Kaao no Kamapuaa” [Legend of the Hawaiian Pig-God Kamapua‘a], *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, June 22–September 28, 1891; Moses Manu “Ka Moolelo Kaao Hawaii no Laukaieie, ke Kino Kamahao i loko o ka Punohu Uakoko” [The Hawaiian Legend of Lauka‘ie‘ie, the Marvelous One in the Misty Low-lying Rainbow], *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, January 2, 1894–[June 28], 1895.

68. The full original title is *Ka moolelo o ka Moi Kalakaua I, ka hanau ana, ke kaapuni honua, ka moolelo piha o kona mau la hope ma Kaleponi, Amerika Huiipuia, na hoike a Adimarala Baraunui me na kauka, etc., etc., etc., hoohiwahiwa me na kii*.

69. A comprehensive compilation of archival material on the Bayonet Constitution can be found at the Hawai‘i Digital Newspaper Project website, <https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/ndnp-hawaii/Home/historical-feature-articles/bayonet-constitution>.

70. The full original title is *Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me Ku-a-Pakaa, na kahu iwikiuamoo o Keawenuiaumi, ke alii o Hawaii, a o na moopuna hoi a Laamaomao! Ke kamaeu nana i hoolakalaka na makani a pau o na mokupuni o Hawaii nei, a uhao iloko o kana ipu kaulana i kapaia o ka ipumakani a Laamaomao*.

71. The full original title is *Moolelo Hawaii o Kalapana, ke keiki hoopapa o Puna, ka mea nana ka olelo kaulana ‘Mo-ke-ki-la-make’ ame kana ipu hoopapa i kapaia o Lono-a-ipu, ke kamaeu nana i hoopahu a o Kalanialiiloa, ke alii hoopapa o Kauai*.

72. The full original title is *Mookaao Hawaii no Kahalaopuna, o ke awawa o ke anuenue, alana a hoolaaia imua o ka lahui Hawaii*.

73. The full original title is *Nanea wainohia no Makakehau, ka pu-kaua kaulana o Lanai moku o Kaululaau, ka mea i lilo mai ai o Puupehe, kekahi o na kaikamahinealii o Maui*.

74. The full original title is *Ka Naauaua ana no Kaala, ka pua aala o Lanai ame ke puhi o ka pali o Kaholo, alana a hoolaaia imua o ka lahui Hawaii*.

75. The full original title is *Kahuakoolau, ke kaeaea o na pali Kalalau a me na kahei o ahi o*

Kamaile, Piilani, ka wahine i molia i ke ola, ke kiu alo ehu poka, Kaleimanu, ka hua o ko laua puhaka, ka opio haokila iloko o na inea, he moolelo oiaio i piha me na haawina o ke aloha walohia.

76. The full original title is *He moolelo pokole no ka huakai a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani, ame ke Kamaliwahine Liliuokalani i ka Iubile o ka Moiwahine Victoria o Beretania Nui*.

77. In my own research on Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo, I have conducted side-by-side comparisons between Emerson’s *Pele and Hi‘iaka* and other, previously published ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i versions by Kānaka ‘Ōiwi, such as M. J. Kapihenui’s “He Moolelo no Hi‘iakaikapoliopole,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, December 26, 1861–July 3, 1862. The vast majority of whole chapters of Emerson’s text comes directly from Kapihenui. While Emerson acknowledges the Hawaiian-language newspaper versions of the mo‘olelo in his introduction, he never names any of the specific mo‘olelo or Kanaka authors.

78. Based on S. N. Hale‘ole’s 1863 ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i publication of *Laeikawai*.

79. For example, Aotearoa (New Zealand)-based Sāmoan writer Albert Wendt garners international acclaim for his novels and short stories (and, later, poetry and plays); he is soon followed by Māori writers Witi Ihimaera and Patricia Grace, and Tongan writer Epeli Hau‘ofa; Pacific literature begins flourishing; Papua New Guinea, Aotearoa, and Fiji (South Pacific Creative Arts Society at the University of the South Pacific in Suva) become centers of Pacific literature.

80. Since 2011, the nūpepa is available on the web via Scribd; see <https://www.scribd.com/document/325839970/NMOK-Puke24-Pepa1>.

81. Osorio’s performance is widely available on the web in several locations, including YouTube and the official White House site; see <https://www.whitehouse.gov/photos-and-video/video/jamaica-osorio-performs-kumulipo-white-house-poetry-jam-6-8>.

82. The videos, graphic novels, and related teaching guides and resources are available via the PREL website, <http://ehoomau.prel.org/>.

83. There are multiple episodes available via several web options, including the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo website, YouTube, and ‘Ōiwi TV; see <http://oiwi.tv/apl/aina-oiwi-episode-1/>.

84. This is a general reference point. Kānaka Maoli were first exposed to western writing from initial contact (1778). Formal training in ‘ike palapala began en masse in the 1820s, after the American Calvinist missionaries arrived in the islands. However, the independent nationalist press began in 1861, which was a time when Kānaka Maoli exercised agency and self-determination by creating an outlet to express their own views and publish mo‘olelo important to them, such as mo‘olelo ku‘una.

85. See ho‘omanawanui 2014b.

86. Namely, that certain versions of the mo‘olelo are directly related to other, specific versions, such as Emerson (1915) drawing directly from Kapihenui (1861), and the close overlapping of Ho‘oulumāhiehie (1905–6), Poepoe (1908–11), and Desha (1924–28). See ho‘omanawanui 2014b for a detailed analysis of these and other Pele and Hi‘iaka mo‘olelo.

87. See ho‘omanawanui 2014b.

88. Illegal telescope construction first began in the 1960s; the TMT telescope plans and Kanaka Maoli protest against it has been an ongoing issue dating back to before 2007. For more information, see Protect Mauna Kea (<http://www.protectmaunakea.org>) and KAHEA, The Hawaiian Environmental Alliance (<http://kahea.org/issues/sacred-summits>).

PAPA KUHIKUHI O NĀ PUKE I HELUHELU ‘IA / REFERENCES

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